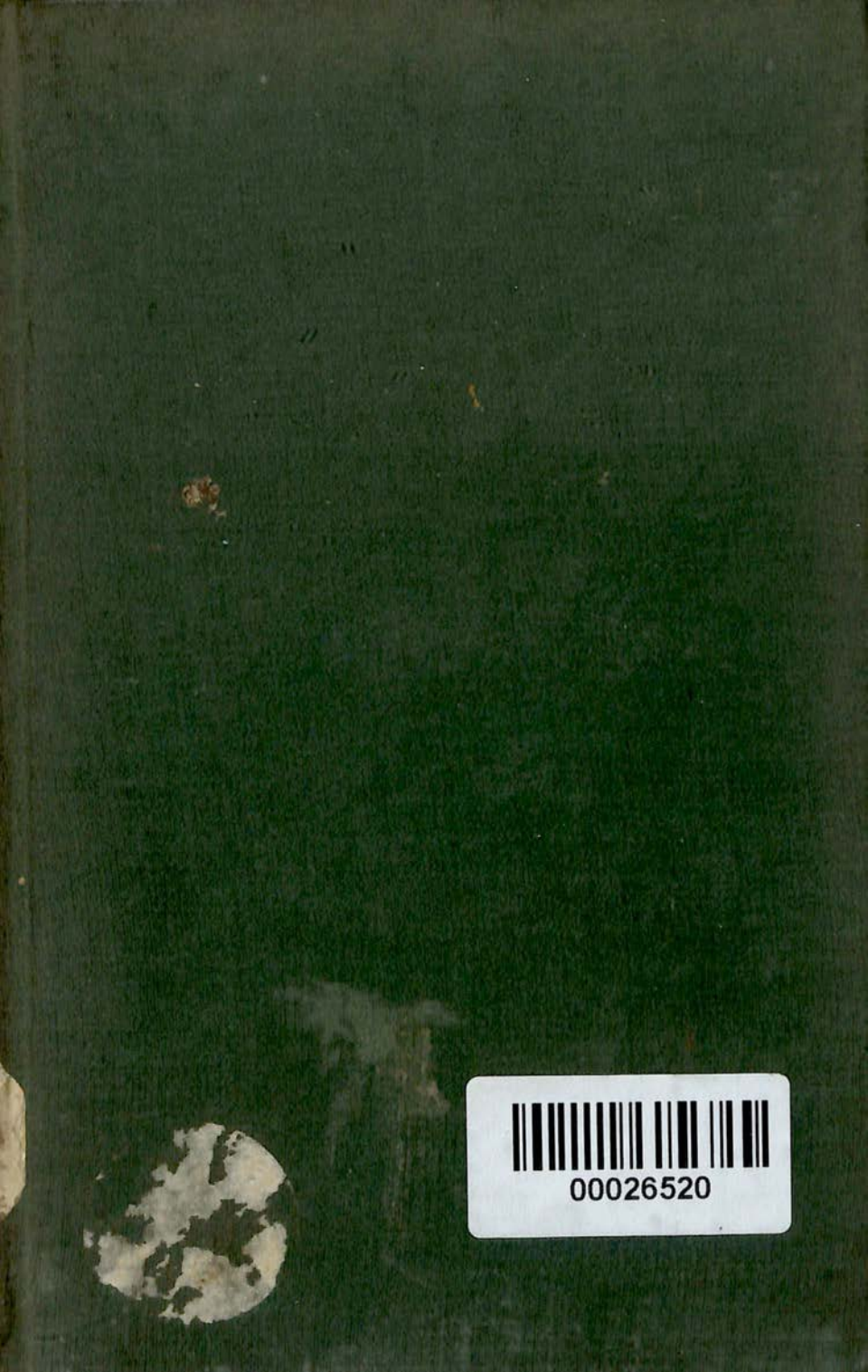
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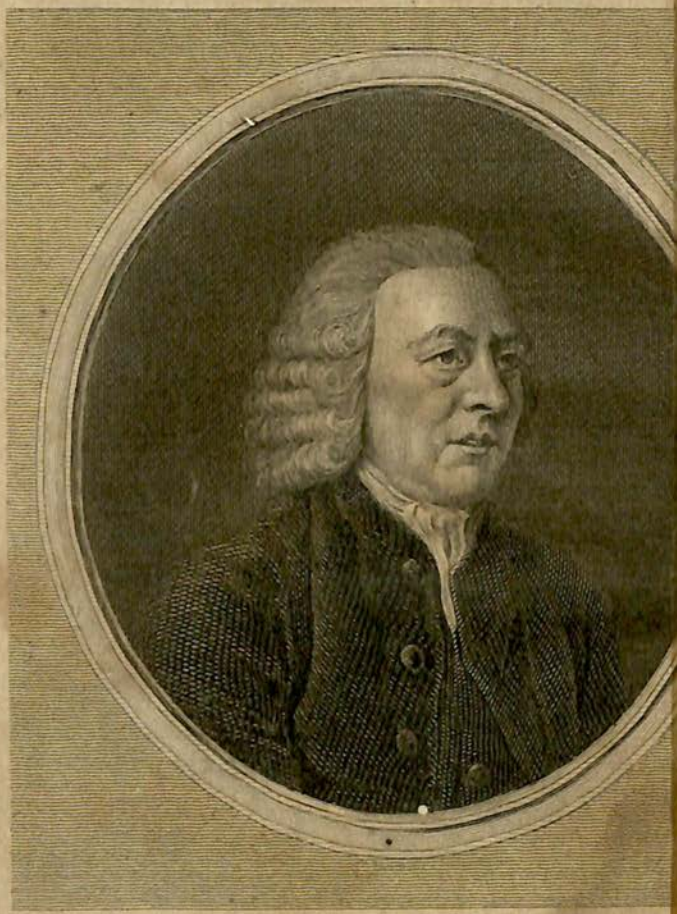

I am dear William yours
most affectionately
Benj: Stillingfleet

From an original Picture by Peters in the possession
of his Nephew C. A. Locker Esq.

Published by J. Nichols & Son, May 1st 1811.

LITERARY LIFE

AND

SELECT WORKS

OF

BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET,

SEVERAL OF WHICH HAVE

NEVER BEFORE BEEN PUBLISHED.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

26520

VOL. I.

LITERARY LIFE.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. NICHOLS AND SON,
Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street;

FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1811.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

MY LORD,

THIS Work principally owes its origin to Your Lordship's interesting communications from the papers of your excellent father, who was the early friend of Mr. Stillingfleet. I therefore avail myself of your Lordship's permission to present it to the Public under the auspices of your name, and beg leave to take this opportunity of expressing my grateful sense of those marks of attention and regard with which you have long honoured,

My Lord,

Your Sincere Friend,

And Obedient Servant,

Bemerton,
August 3, 1810.

W. COXE.

PREFACE.

As perhaps some apology may be deemed necessary for becoming the editor of a work principally relating to Natural History, a branch of knowledge in which I am little versed, I will state my motives for this undertaking.

From my earliest youth, I was accustomed to look up to Mr. Stillingfleet with veneration and esteem, as well from his connexion with my friends and relatives, as from his particular condescension towards myself, by the interest he took in my juvenile studies. Chance led me to Mr. Nichols, who is well known as the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, and still more for his knowledge of the History, Antiquities, and Topography of this Country.

Having just obtained, from Commodore Locker, the communication of some Dramas written by Mr. Stillingfleet, which, though printed, were never published, and other posthumous papers, he expressed his intention to reprint them with the other poetical pieces of the author; and, as I was acquainted with several persons who possessed some of his fugitive writings in prose and verse, as well as other papers, I offered to join my stock of materials with his, in raising some monument to the memory of so distinguished a scholar, and amiable a man.

This offer being readily accepted, I collected all the unpublished materials I could trace among the families with whom Mr. Stillingfleet was connected; and judged that it would neither be discreditable to his talents, nor unpleasing to the reader, to unite in one body all his works on various subjects, which were scattered in different publications, and to annex to them those which had never been given to the world.

My original intention was to have comprised all the Miscellaneous Tracts, as well as the Treatise on the Principles and Power of Harmony; but I relin-

quished this design, from an apprehension of injuring the Booksellers, who have reprinted the Miscellaneous Tracts, and who still possess a considerable number of copies of the Treatise on Harmony. Should, however, the public call for a new edition of this work, I may then, perhaps, fulfil my original plan without detriment to others.

The present selection is confined to the original works of the Author, or to the translations connected with those subjects on which he treated as an original writer. As I have given a brief account of each piece in the Literary Life, I will here only recapitulate the titles.

I. POETRY,

CONSISTING OF

Fugitive pieces published in the Collections of the times.

Essay on Conversation, and Poem on Earthquakes.

TO THESE ARE ADDED

Dramas, Songs, and Sonnets, never before given to the public.

II. NATURAL HISTORY.

Preface to the Miscellaneous Tracts selected from the Writings of Linnæus and his scholars.

On the Irritability of Vegetables, translated from the Italian, extremely scarce, and hitherto unappropriated.

On the Foliation of Trees, an Introduction to the Calendar of Flora.

Three Calendars of Flora, for Sweden, England, and Greece, with additions by Professor Martyn.

The Swedish Pan, and Observations on Grasses, considerably augmented from his own manuscripts, and further improved with the additional observations by Professor Martyn.

The concluding piece is an Analysis of his Memoranda for the History of Husbandry.

I shall only add, on this subject, that I have restricted my selections to as small a compass as was consistent with the plan of developing the design and views of the Author, and omitted many curious parts, to avoid the appearance of having drained his common-place book; but it is just to observe, that

he has left scarcely a single object of Husbandry untouched; and has pointed out, or anticipated, many improvements of modern times.

I have prefixed an account of his Literary Life and labours, principally drawn from numerous materials, furnished by persons still living, who were intimately acquainted with him.

It now only remains to express my gratitude to those who have contributed their communications and assistance.

My first acknowledgements are due to Lord Braybrooke, whose father, Mr. Neville, was one of the longest and most intimate friends of Mr. Stillingfleet. To his Lordship's kindness I owe the account of the Common-room and Theatrical Representations at Geneva, the characters of Messrs. Price, Windham, and Williamson; and the eight sonnets to the members of his beloved society, as well as some original letters.

It is with deep and sincere regret that I record my obligations to the late Right Hon. William Windham, son of the pupil and friend of Mr. Stillingfleet, for various communications, and in particular for the ad-

mirable letter to his father on coming of age, printed in Chapter III, which is preserved in the Library at Felbrig. On this occasion, I should be unjust to his memory not to join the public voice in expressing my deep concern for the loss of so amiable a man, and so distinguished a Patriot.

To Mrs. Lee, sister of the late Mrs. Doughty, of Hamworth, near Felbrig, where she resided for several years; and who now, at the very advanced age of ninety, enjoys the full possession of all her faculties. This lady was personally acquainted with Mr. Stillingfleet, and has communicated various anecdotes relating to his early life and habits, and some poetical effusions by himself and the other members of the Society at Felbrig, which have added to the stock of materials for compiling his life. To her niece, Mrs. Margaret Doughty, as well as to the Rev. Dr. Lukin, Dean of Wells, Rector of Felbrig, and step-brother of the late Mr. Windham, I have similar obligations.

To the Honourable and Reverend Dr. Barrington, Bishop of Durham, for various anecdotes derived from his personal knowledge of Mr. Stilling-

fleet, which are the more interesting, because in early youth his Lordship was a sharer of his botanical labours, and possessed his friendship till the close of his life.

To Uvedale Price, Esq. for his kindness in communicating Mr. Stillingfleet's character of his excellent father.

To the valuable assistance of my excellent friend, Professor Martyn, who was once engaged in the task, which I have now attempted to fulfil, I am indebted for the additional Observations on Grasses, which have greatly enriched the original treatise of Mr. Stillingfleet; for various communications relative to this and other branches of Natural History; and for his friendly assistance throughout the whole course of the work. The notes marked (M) I owe to his kindness.

To my worthy friend, John Stackhouse, esq. author of the Nereis Britannica, for several notes marked (S), and for the remarks on Theophrastus; an author whose works he is employed in illustrating.

To my much esteemed friend, the Reverend Richard Relhan, author of the Flora Cantabrigiensis, for various hints and contributions.

To Mr. Sowerby, whose labours are duly appreciated by every student and lover of Botany, I consider myself as indebted for his care and attention in executing the plates of the Grasses, and for occasional communications interspersed in the work.

I cannot better close this respectable list of contributors, than with the name of Edward Hawke Locker, esq. the great nephew of Mr. Stillingfleet. On his return from India, hearing that I was occupied in re-publishing the Works, and sketching the Life of his venerable relative, he voluntarily tendered his assistance; furnished me with various family anecdotes; and submitted to my use, all the manuscripts of Mr. Stillingfleet, which had survived neglect and accident, or escaped the flames. Of these I have particularly to mention the six volumes of Memoranda for the History of Husbandry, the Journal of the Tour in Wales, some fragments on

critical and moral subjects, and several letters, to and from his friends, particularly those from Mr. Sillingfleet to Lord Barrington; to his nephew Captain Locker; as well as others from Mrs. Montagu and Mr. Pennant, after his death. To this gentleman I am likewise indebted for the engraving of the Monument which he has recently erected in St. James's Church, to the memory of his uncle.

LITERARY LIFE

OF

BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET.

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LITERARY LIFE

OF

BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET.

CHAPTER I.

Family, Birth, and Education—Enters at Trinity College, Cambridge—Becomes Preceptor to the only son of Ashe Windham, esq. of Felbrig, Norfolk—Disappointed of a Fellowship.

IT is a trite but true remark, that the life of a man of letters is seldom fertile in events. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the author whose works I now deliver to the public; because he was of no profession, passed much of his time in studious retirement, and for the principal part of his life held

little personal intercourse with the world beyond his own particular friends and his literary circle. The means of information are still more circumscribed by the fulfilment of his own order, that his papers should be burnt; and of his long and intimate correspondence with his friends and associates, scarcely any letters exist of which I have been able to obtain the communication.

Under such circumstances, I give an analysis of his literary labours, and an imperfect sketch of his character and manners, derived from a few anecdotes published soon after his death, from the communications of those persons whom I have mentioned in the Preface, and from my own slight acquaintance with him in early youth.

Edward Stillingfleet, the father of our author, was son of the celebrated Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, by his first wife Andrea, daughter of William Dobyns, of Dumbleton, in the County of Glocester, Esq. He completed his education at St. John's College, Cambridge, was elected Fellow, appointed Gresham Professor of Physic, took his Doctor's degree, and practised medicine at Lynn, in Norfolk.

He seems to have forfeited his father's affection, by a want of œconomy, an attachment to the exiled family of Stuart, and, above all, by entering

into marriage without his approbation *. Having thus vacated his Fellowship and Professorship, he was reduced to great straits, from which he was repeatedly relieved by his father.

His practice being scanty, he afterwards entered into Holy Orders, and, though no reconciliation had taken place, he, by his father's patronage, obtained the Rectory of Newington Butts, which he exchanged before institution for those of Wood Norton and Swanton, in Norfolk. He was deformed in person from a hurt during his infancy, but appears to have been a man of respectable talents and erudition. He died in 1708, leaving a son and three daughters. Benjamin Stillingfleet, the subject of this sketch; Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, who espoused John Locker†, esq. Barrister at Law, and Commissioner

* Among the papers in the possession of Mr. Locker is a deed which proves his want of œconomy, and his unfortunate misunderstanding with his father. By this it appears that he was repeatedly involved in debts which had been discharged by his father, and that his embarrassments compelled him to make a formal demand of the settlement contracted by the Bishop's marriage articles. This deed is an acquittance for 600*l.* all his claims in right of his mother; and besides, enumerates various sums advanced for the payment of his debts, the whole amounting to 1021*l.* This deed bears date 11 Jan. 1693, and he is therein styled Doctor of Physic.

† The families of Locker and Stillingfleet seem to have been nearly connected, if not related. Stephen, the father of John Locker, of a respectable family in Middlesex, who suffered for

of Bankrupts, a gentleman equally esteemed for his professional talents and acquisitions in literature, and two other daughters who espoused two brothers of the name of Sabourn; one in the profession of the Law, and the other in that of the Church.

As the Bishop of Worcester died some years before, leaving nothing to his son, the mother of Mr. Stillingfleet was reduced to great embarrassment. She probably received much assistance from the family

their attachment to the house of Stuart, was a Barrister at Law, and Clerk to the Leather-sellers' Company in the City. I find among the family papers a short letter from him to Mr. Stillingfleet, which proves their intimacy: it incloses copies of several letters from John Locker, then on his travels in France with his friend Mr. Twisleton.

"Dear Benjamin,

"I thought good to give you the foregoing copies of my son's letters to me. I wish you heartily well, and that you are improving yourself, and that most valuable talent Time, most precious. You do make the best of it, as well as if you were at the University, I am sure; my son told me that you would, before he went abroad. I pray God to bless you, and grant you well to do."

Sept. 12, 1724.

In the same letter is a short letter from his mother, who had then espoused her second husband, as she signs herself M. A. DUNCH.

The reader will find a good account of John Locker, esq. the son, and his literary pursuits, in the General Biographical Dictionary, and in Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, which will shortly be published. See also Chapter II.

of Windham of Felbrig, with whom her deceased husband was nearly related*, and afterwards engaged in a second marriage to a gentleman of the name of Dunch.

Benjamin was born in 1702, and educated at Norwich School, partly under Mr. Robert Pate†, and partly under Mr. Redlington, who were successively masters between 1705 and 1719, and made a considerable proficiency in classical literature.

On the 14th of April, 1720, he entered as a subsizar‡ at Trinity College, Cambridge, at the re-

* From a family monument in Felbrig Church. It appears that Mr. Ashe Windham married Elizabeth, the daughter of William Dobyns of Lincoln's Inn, who was the brother of Andrea, wife of Bishop Stillingfleet. Mrs. Ashe Windham was accustomed to call Mr. Stillingfleet her cousin Ben, in which relationship he stood in the second degree.

William Dobyns.

William,	Andrea,
|	m. Edw. Bp. of Worcester.
Elizabeth,	|
m. Ashe Windham, esq.	Edward Stillingfleet.
|	|
William Windham.	Benjamin Stillingfleet.

† Mr. Pate was a good grammarian, and published "Some Observations on the Latin Syntax," as I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Foster, present head master of this school, who kindly supplied these particulars.

‡ As there are only twelve Sizars at Trinity College, the Subsizars are those who are nominated to succeed to the vacancies as they occur.

quest of Dr. Bentley, the master, who had been private tutor to his father, and domestic chaplain to the Bishop, and was much indebted to the patronage of his family. Here he improved his classical knowledge, and attached himself with success to mathematical studies. On the 3d of May, 1723, he was admitted a scholar; and the same year, after the usual period, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Soon afterwards Mr. Stillingfleet quitted the University, and his immediate abode and pursuits cannot be ascertained; but his first printed effusion which was written in 1723, gives striking proofs of his love of retirement and independent spirit*. He describes himself as residing in some humble dwelling, free and insulated, living with rigid frugality, and seeking amusement and instruction in his favourite studies.

In 1724 we find him established in the family of Ashe Windham, esq. of Felbrig, in the capacity of preceptor to William, his only son, then about seven years old, a situation which he owed to the recommendation of his relative, and benefactress, Mrs. Windham†.

* See his Poetical Epistle to a Friend, page 2 of the next Part.

† The Windhams of Felbrig are a Norfolk family of great antiquity, and derived their name from Wymondham, a town in that county, distinguished for its magnificent abbey, founded by

Although Mr. Stillingfleet was treated with every proof of respect, friendship, and even affection, by the family in which he resided; yet it was natural that a person of his spirit should wish for a more independent establishment, that he might neither be reduced to rely on the bounty of others, nor become a burthen to his friends. This view he hoped to realise, by obtaining a Fellowship of Trinity College,

William de Albini, ancestor of the Earls of Arundel, to whom the Conqueror granted the estate. The Ailward de Wymondham, settled there at that period, is the ancestor of the Windhams.

John Windham, lord of the manor of Crowne Thorpe, (temp. Hen. V.) acquired Felbrig and the lands attached to it by purchase on the death of Simon de Felbrigge, the last male descendant of the antient family so denominated from the mansion of Felbrig, near Cromer; and kept possession of it, after a long contest with the collateral branch of Felbrig, settled in Suffolk.

Sir Thomas Windham, the grandson of this John, had two sons, Sir Edmund and Sir John, the founders of two different lines. Sir Edmund continued at Felbrig, and Sir John by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of Sir John Sydenham, of Orchard, Somersetshire, obtained large estates in that county, founded the Somersetshire line, and established his residence at Orchard, to which the family name of Wyndham was added, to distinguish it from Orchard Portman, in the same county. The line of Felbrig failing by the extinction of the male issue of Sir Edward Windham in 1599, the estate reverted to the collateral branch of Somersetshire, in the person of Sir John Windham, who was Sheriff of that county in 1503. He had nine sons by his wife Joan, daughter of Sir H. Portman, and was the common ancestor of all the branches of the Wyndhams now existing.

in which, at this period, there were four vacancies. The regularity of his behaviour, his great proficiency in classical and mathematical studies, the amenity of his manners, and, above all, the countenance of the master, gave the most promising hopes of success.

With these flattering expectations, and encouraged by the good wishes of all his friends, he repaired in the beginning of 1726 to Cambridge, where an election was to take place. He was, however, disap-

His eldest son John continued the line of Somerset, and is the ancestor of the Wyndhams, Earls of Egremont, and his next surviving son, Thomas, re-established the line of Felbrig. Sir John began the erection of the present mansion of Felbrig, and it was finished by Thomas. On the West side of the porch are his arms impaled with those of Portman; and on the East side, those of his son impaled with the arms of the Lyttons, the family of his wife. He died in 1653, at the advanced age of 83.

Ashe, grandson of this Thomas, the patron of Mr. Stillingfleet, was the son of William, by Catherine, daughter of Sir Joseph Ashe of Twickenham. He was born in ——, and represented the County of Norfolk in the reign of Queen Anne, 1708. He died in 1749, and was succeeded by his son William, the pupil of Mr. Stillingfleet.

It is singular that notwithstanding the connection and common ancestry of the two branches, they are distinguished by the orthography of the name; those of Norfolk spell it Windham, those of the other counties, Wyndham.

From Edmonson's Baronagium. Art. Wyndham, Earl of Egremont. Collins's Peerage, Ditto. Bloomfield's Norfolk, art. Felbrigg; and some MSS. Pedigrees of the family in the possession of my friend H. P. Wyndham, esq. M. P. Salisbury.

pointed by the influence, it is said, of Dr. Bentley * himself, who has been accused of repaying with this instance of ingratitude the obligations he had received from the father of the unprotected candidate.

By what motives Bentley was actuated we cannot ascertain; though it is not improbable that some difference in political sentiments may have alienated a man no less remarkable for the impetuosity of his temper than for the soundness of his learning. I honour Bentley too highly to suppose that the excuse with which he is said to have defended himself can be authentic; namely, "that Mr. Stillingfleet was too fine a gentleman to be buried in a college." But, whatever was the cause of this rejection, it preyed on the mind of Mr. Stillingfleet; and he seldom afterwards omitted an opportunity of testifying his resentment against Bentley. I find in some of the

* I endeavoured to discover from the records of the college, or from tradition, the cause of Mr. Stillingfleet's exclusion. An extract from the list of elections furnished by the kindness of Dr. Mansel, Bishop of Bristol, (the present master) affords probable grounds for the supposition that the interest of Bentley was employed in favour of his own son, who was chosen at one of the ensuing elections:

"Socii Electi.

Ann. 1726. Edmund Dring, James Ord, Andrew Hackett, John Snow.

1727. Thomas Clarke.

1728. Hugh Robinson, *Richard Bentley.*

early fugitive pieces, written both by himself and his companions, that at Felbrig, one of their amusements consisted in ridiculing Bentley, particularly his edition of Milton, which it cannot be denied was open to much animadversion.

In his Essay on Conversation, he says:

As good hear Bentley dictate on epistles.
* * * * * *
And tho' when roughly us'd he's full of choler,
As blust'ring Bentley to a brother scholar,
Yet, by degrees, enure him to submit,
He's tame, and in his mouth receives the bit

CHAPTER II.

Recommends to his Pupil the study of the Antient Languages.

HIS hope of obtaining an establishment in the University being thus disappointed, he attached himself wholly to his patron Mr. Windham, and to the education of his pupil; and at the mansion of Felbrig, one of the most pleasant residences in the county of Norfolk, passed the next fourteen years of his life, beloved and respected by all who visited, or were connected with the family.

We have no doubt, that he fulfilled in a most exemplary manner the duty of a preceptor, as is evident from the progress made by his pupil in several branches of science and literature; but we cannot ascertain the precise mode and matter of his instructions. Mr. Windham often acknowledged the great advantage which he had derived from the precepts of his worthy tutor, and declared that no one pos-

sessed in a higher degree the talent of acquiring the love and esteem of a pupil, and at the same time of rendering study agreeable, by uniting instruction and amusement.

Mr. Stillingfleet had one great difficulty to vanquish, not unusual in families where the sons receive a private education. Mr. Windham was one of the old English country gentlemen, hospitable and convivial, devoted to the pleasures of the field, with little taste for polite literature, and prejudiced against the time and attention bestowed on the antient languages in a course of liberal education. His remarks therefore, in the parlour, not unfrequently counteracted the lectures of the tutor in the study. Mr. Stillingfleet was of too mild and prudent a character to dispute even against the prejudices of his benefactor and patron; and therefore adopted a more eligible and effectual method to guard his pupil from that inattention which might otherwise have resulted from the objections of his father. He doubtless profited by the hours of confidential and familiar conversation, to exhibit the advantages of classical learning, and noted down occasional remarks, which were read or suggested as opportunity offered. Fortunately, among those of his papers which have escaped oblivion, are some notices of this kind. One refutes the futile objections against Greek learning.

"The trite observation, my young friend, that the study of the Antients tends to make men pedants, and to check invention, is just as wise as to assert, that conversing with men of sense perverts the understanding. There is another objection more plausible, that true genius does not need such attention as the study of the Antients requires, of which Shakspeare is an example, who would not have succeeded so well, had he not drawn his resources from himself alone. This, indeed, is said daily; but how truly, who shall decide? We only see what he has done, and that is so wonderful, that we can scarcely imagine how he could have surpassed his own performance. We are in the situation of his own Miranda, who, having seen no men but her father and Caliban, fancied that nothing could exceed the comeliness of Ferdinand.

'My affections
Are then most humble. I have no ambition
To see a goodlier man.'

"I should indeed be tempted to apply the lovely maid's expression to our great Dramatist himself, were I not firmly convinced, that the study of art, instead of destroying, adds to beauty. In his writings, as in her character, there is something in those touches of wildness, inexperience, and simplicity, which work upon us before we are prepared, and enchain us without a struggle.

"When art robs nature of a single charm, it is no longer art, but the want of art. Rules teach us how to avoid faults; beauties must be derived from nature. But after all, whatever such a genius as Shakspeare may do without instruction, it would be arrogance in the rest of mankind to presume on similar success. We may indeed easily copy his negligencies, but not emulate his beauties; and those who aspire above a mere copy of his defects, must not study but imitate the Antients.

"All our best Poets, as well as those of every other nation, have succeeded only by this method. Virgil and Milton are such examples of judicious imitation, as may teach us not to think ourselves above it. Virgil has not only copied Homer in every part of his Æneid, but has made equal use of other writers; some of whom are almost buried in obscurity, or eclipsed by his superior reputation. Besides the Greek Tragedians, from whom he has drawn hints of character, and many beautiful thoughts, he has borrowed from Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, Theocritus, Ennius, Lucretius, Catullus; and, as Quintilian informs us, he made use of Nicander. Yet he has all the charms of an original writer; and whence does this proceed but from such a judicious adaptation of the words to the subject, that each thought seems naturally to spring from the

circumstance, and not the circumstance to be invented for the thought?

"As an imitator, I do not place Milton on the same footing, because he has far more invention and imagination. Yet with these advantages, he has not disdained occasionally to imitate the Antients, of which such numerous proofs might be given that it is needless to adduce them *.

"The inference to be drawn from these remarks, is to enforce the necessity of studying the Antients, particularly the Greeks. I mention the Greeks, preferably to the Romans, because the Latin tongue scarcely affords more than six or seven good authors; and because the worst of the Greek writers never quit nature. They have no Senecas or Lucans; much less a Statius or Claudian. To imitate such, is to labour to be ugly; or, as Shakspeare says, to

'Usurp the beggary we were never born to.'

Supposing even that we remain unaffected by such bad examples, why should we not rather chuse the original than the copy?

* Mr. Stillingfleet has given numerous proofs of this assertion in his Commentary on Milton, from which Todd has introduced Selections in his edition. In one of these notes he justly observes, that Milton never borrowed from the Antients, without improving them. He applies to Milton what Aristotle says of Homer, "that he taught Poets how to lie properly." Note to B. 4. l. 458. Todd's Milton, vol. III. p 119.

"Satire is the only part of Poetry of which the Romans can claim the invention; yet, even their best Satyrist advises his countrymen to make the Greek writings their continual study:

'Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.'

"It has been asked, is not too much time lost in studying one dead language, without throwing away more on another which requires ten times more labour, instead of applying to the Sciences, or to some useful profession? Those who make such an objection, mistake my meaning. I do not wish that young men should set up for mere verbal Critics; all I recommend is, that those, who from fortune and leisure, are in a condition to amuse themselves without neglecting their duty; or those who by their talents may rationally hope to amuse others, would endeavour to avail themselves of all the advantages of learning. For though it may appear a paradox to assert, that by adding the study of a difficult language to our other literary pursuits, we abridge our way to learning; yet nothing is more strictly true. For example, is not Coke upon Littleton, the book recommended to a Student in the Inns of Court, the most abstruse of Law publications? yet it is always studied with advantage; because whoever is master of that may be considered as master of the Law. The same may be applied to Greek Learning. For, though I

will not say there is nothing new among the Moderns, yet I will assert, that there is much less new than is generally thought, particularly in Poetry, Oratory, Politics, and Metaphysics; and he that has read what the Antients have left on those subjects, will lose the rage of devouring every lean morsel as it comes fresh from the press: he will find that what is tolerable, is but a repetition of what he had met with before; what is bad, he will have too good a taste to relish; and as for what is excellent, he will gain the patience, by the experience of its rarity, to wait for a recommendation of it, and when it is recommended, will easily find leisure to read it. *Multa lectio, non multorum*, is the only secret that I know of for making much advancement by study; and common sense, as well as experience, ought to render us sensible of its use; for he that is master of the principles of any art or science, is always master of the detail, and the number of true geniuses has ever been small; but from mere indolence we labour all our lives to little purpose, when industry at the commencement would make the rest of our journey pleasant.

"Translations are recommended as an expedient to save this labour; but where are good translations to be found? Our own language affords very few; and I know of none in any other tongue which are not far beneath the originals. As for those in Latin,

they are generally so spiritless, that the fatigue of reading them far exceeds all that is required to master the difficulties of the Greek tongue; nay, it is often more difficult to understand the translation than the original."

CHAPTER III.

Letter from Mr. Stillingfleet to Mr. Windham on his coming of age.

MR. Windham was not sent to a public school, or to the University, but finished his education under the guidance of his respectable preceptor. Mr. Stillingfleet, considering his charge as terminating on the majority of his pupil, addressed to him a letter of advice relating to his future conduct in life, comprising such moral and practical instructions as his good sense, sound principles, and observation, suggested. This valuable document I present with pleasure to the Reader, as at once doing honour to the head and heart of the Author, and as likely to be useful to persons in the same circumstances as the youth to whom it was addressed.

Εδοξε δη και νυν ει δοκει τα μεν αλλα επιηδευμαθα παντα ὁ σφοδρα χαλεπα ειναι, το δε τινα τροπον χρη γιγνεσθαι κρησεως ανθρωπως παγχαλεπον *.

PLATO *in Epimenide.*

" DEAR SIR,

" As your friends will take this opportunity of paying their compliments to you, I ought not to let it pass by without notice; I who have at least as much reason as most of them to partake in the good or ill success of every thing which concerns you. I look on myself as interested in all the actions of your life; and doubt not but they will afford matter of joy to me, and all who really wish you well. It might perhaps be expected I should join with the rest in barely congratulating you on your coming of age; but, as I have something of a very different kind in view, I shall give it another turn, and consider this as a time, in which I may most properly be allowed to speak by way of advice; though I have no suspicion, but that you will give me leave to speak as freely hereafter when occasion shall offer.

* "It is a long established and general opinion, that the most difficult of all kinds of instruction is, that of teaching men to be good."

"I profess not, however, to deliver any thing new in the following lines, or what you may not meet with in many books better treated; but a particular address will frequently have a different effect from what is said in general; and I may presume, that some regard to the person who makes it will not be inefficacious, especially when you shall observe, that I am not set down to display my reading or eloquence, but with a design to speak, as far as I am able, the words of truth and soberness.

"Too many young gentlemen look on coming of age with pleasure, as that time affords them an opportunity of indulging those appetites, which the kindness of parents had restrained them in before. The beginning of manhood to them is the beginning of debauchery. The power they acquire over themselves is a power to bring themselves to ruin; and the hand, which the laws had hitherto bound up, is then let loose to sign and sanction whatever acquired extravagance, fashionable folly, and the natural intemperance of youth shall dictate; that is, they rejoice at attaining that age in which they are presumed to arrive at reason, because they may then live in defiance of it, without controul.

"I am very certain you are not of that number. You are blessed with too good a parent to need wish for a greater share of reasonable liberty than you have already enjoyed; and I cannot imagine you

have any longing after such as ought to be denied you.

"You are now completely become a member of society, capable of answering all its purposes, and invested with all the power which it grants on account of age. Accordingly as you make use of that power, you will deserve the name of a pernicious, an useless, or a good one; which you will prove depends upon the right or wrong notions you may form concerning things at first setting out, and the habits which will thence arise. The best intentions will not secure us from very essential mistakes; it is a proper examination alone can do it. I will therefore take the liberty to propose to your perusal some general dictates, which seem to me to flow from common sense. I say from common sense, for most of the great errors in life are owing to deviations from that.

"But I beg you to observe, once for all, that I pretend not to any abilities of directing, but what a modest traveller may claim in conducting a friend through a country in which he has passed some time. Nay, in truth, I aim at nothing more than to put you upon reflecting upon some certain points, the determination of which is absolutely necessary to happiness; since to fluctuate in matters of consequence is to be miserable.

"Religion claims the first place in all our considerations on human nature; as it inquires into our

origin, and the purposes for which we were created; as it interferes in all transactions between man and man, as well as between man and the Deity; as it teaches us what we are to depend upon in a state surrounded with difficulties, dangers, pains, and death, and as it extends beyond this world by informing us of a duration after it which is never to end.

"To enter into a full discussion of this point alone, and to examine all the religions which have prevailed among men, or to set forth all the duties which the Christian religion in particular enjoins, would reach far beyond the bounds I intend to prescribe myself at present: I shall therefore recommend to your serious perusal many excellent books wrote by learned men of all nations on these subjects, wherein you will find sufficient reason to follow sincerely the Religion in which you have been brought up, as well as to practise its doctrines. But as some preparatives are necessary towards reading them with advantage, I will make some few observations concerning a set of men who, under pretence of a rational doubting, decide dogmatically against all belief, after recommending to you soberness of mind, the want of which seems to have been the cause of infidelity, rather than any want of evidence.

"By soberness of mind, I do not mean a gravity which is not to be moved by the charms of sprightliness and wit; but, on the contrary, that disposition

by which we are inclined to give every thing its due weight; and, consequently, to treat a jest as a jest, and an argument as an argument; the reverse of which is no uncommon practice among such as set up for men of genius and parts.

"If we look round the world, and examine those who have honoured themselves with the title of Freethinkers, we shall find most of them to have been of a vain presumptuous temper, carried away with too high an opinion of their own sagacity, and too mean a one of that of the rest of mankind; or, of a turn of mind apt to treat every thing with levity, and to be more affected by a ludicrous representation than a true one; or lastly, of vicious and debauched inclinations, not to be confined within the bounds prescribed by so pure a Religion as ours. A little humility, seriousness, and virtue, would, I doubt not, contribute very much towards making these three kinds of men religious.

"As to the two last, I will pass them by in silence; because, they are not able to do much mischief to others when once known, and they soon discover themselves to one of a moderate penetration.

"The first are of the most dangerous nature, and therefore require a remark or two. We are each of us so ignorant in several common phænomena which are well understood by others, that it is surprizing they will insist on seeing through every difficulty in

an affair which has perplexed the greatest Philosophers in all ages and countries, or absolutely reject the whole, even that part which they may clearly comprehend. There are no doubt some obscurities attending Christianity; but do they not arise from the nature of a finite capacity employed on subjects of an infinite kind? and shall we despise all information which leaves any of the uncertainties of human weakness about us? Surely these men themselves will not say so.

"Besides, certain points of belief which have been much disputed, may not perhaps be so essential to Christianity as some Christians have apprehended. It seems as if a man might be a good Christian without perfectly understanding every particular relating to some very nice matters, as well as be a good moral man, without believing rightly concerning the metaphysical idea of man. One thing, however, is certain; that we cannot be excused in rejecting doctrines agreed on by men of all sects, and confessedly of the highest importance, on account of other speculative opinions which we cannot comprehend perfectly.

"If we farther consider the number of those who glory in rejecting Revelation, and at the same time how much learning of all sorts, in history, sciences, customs of nations, languages, &c. as well as what strength of reasoning is requisite to make a man ca-

pable of disproving a system which has been so long received among mankind; I say if we join together these two considerations, we must conclude that something else besides conviction has produced infidelity.

"Let any man look over the dispute concerning Phalaris, and see how much labour was necessary to prove that the Epistles which go under his name are spurious, though they evidently upon examination contradict History *; and then let him fancy, if he can, that many of the pert haranguers against Revelation have neither learning nor sense enough to find out objections of any consequence against a system, which, to speak modestly, is at least as artfully contrived to impose upon mankind as that Collection of Epistles. I much question whether the capacity of those zealots extends farther than blindly to follow some eminent propagator of crude notions, the doing of which is as inconsistent with their beloved name, as the belief of the greatest bigot, and much more so with an honest mind.

"It has always raised in me a strong prejudice against such self-taught Philosophers, that those who carry so great an authority with these very men in other matters, I mean the brightest geniuses of An-

* He alludes to the celebrated dispute concerning the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris, between Bentley and Boyle, which divided the Literary world.

tiquity, almost always were remarkable for a religious turn. It may perhaps be said in answer to this, that some of them were then to blame, since in my own opinion they followed a false Religion. But the argument is inconclusive. I may do right upon a wrong persuasion. If I follow the best light the circumstances I am in afford me, though it prove a deceitful one in some particulars, I act nevertheless prudently. The sailors who mistook the light of Scilly for the light of their Admiral, did not therefore err in pursuing it; becsuse, if they had not pursued it, they would have acted contrary to what they thought was their duty *. Now these gentlemen have not yet shewn the world that they were guided by a light superior to that of Revelation; and till they can do that, they are bound in conscience not to endeavour to extinguish it. But my reason for being prejudiced against these patrons of infidelity does not end here.

"The greatest men, who have made it their business to enquire into the Christian Religion, have declared themselves satisfied with the proofs it affords, and have published them for the information of others. I speak now of men who were biassed by no profession or interest to conceal their sentiments, or to impose on others. I need only mention their names to alarm at least every well-meaning mind;

* Alluding to the Shipwreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

Grotius, Locke, Addison, Newton, surely deserve some regard, however groundless their belief may appear at first sight.

"I do not know whether I ought not to allow of one distinction of unbelievers more than I have mentioned above; I mean of such who being shocked at the farce, and I may call it a tragical one, which Religion has been turned to by those who ought to have been its guardians, have conceived odious notions of it in every shape.

"When the very essence, the very end of all Religion was exchanged for useless ceremonies; when orthodox belief was set up against moral practice; when lying and trifling miracles were propagated, and even put on a foot with those of our Saviour and his Apostles, and money was made an atonement for the vilest crimes: when these things happened, no wonder that Christianity and superstition were confounded and condemned together by those, who for want of learning could not distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine; because there was something evidently repugnant to common sense and common honesty, in that unnatural mixture. But surely, though the effects of this depravation still remain among some nations, we are inexcusable if we fall into the same error, who have a liberty of examining and proving the spirit of the Scriptures in their original source, and have learning enough to separate

the misinterpretation from the real doctrine. It would be a singular instance, and peculiar to this case, I believe, to reject the text on account of the comment, when we see a manifest disagreement between the two.

"As to the ill purposes Religion has been employed to serve in enslaving mankind, the same may be said concerning Government, the design of which has been as grossly and as constantly abused; and yet no sober man would banish all kinds of it out of the world. In short, if we are to have any Religion at all, we can have none so little liable in itself to favour the passions of wicked and designing men, as Christianity; because there is none which so explicitly excludes all worldly views as that does.

"It is so far from the appearance of being intended to set up one body of men over their fellow creatures, that it has not provided for, nor even supposed any succession of priesthood; and indeed it seems needless that our great Teacher, who commands all his disciples in general to preach the Gospel, and enjoins purity of heart, as the fundamental and distinguishing mark of our being his disciples, should institute an order of men who can then only be effectually necessary where ceremonies abound, and are supposed to take their efficacy from the precise manner in which they are performed. The objections therefore that have been made to our Religion on

this head are perhaps the most groundless that imagination can form.

" If the most constant injunction of universal charity, a charity extended towards our very enemies, can produce cruelty by any natural consequence, I know of no way so effectual to prohibit vice, as to recommend it. Does any man assert cruelty to be the doctrine of the Gospel? If he does, let him produce the texts which encourage it; and till he can do that, let him own that not our own religion, but the very want of it, has done all the mischief which is complained of.

" It is the oddest way of reasoning in the world to say that Christianity ought to be discouraged, because a set of men governed by a spirit diametrically opposite to every one of its precepts, have made millions miserable; I allow this to be true, and know of no way so effectual to give them a proper sense of humanity as that of persuading them to become real Christians. I am almost ashamed to make use of so many words to prove a thing so clear; but to such poor shifts are these boasted free-thinkers reduced to, that, to answer their arguments, one is obliged to prove that when we are commanded to be charitable, meek, humble, forgiving, we are not commanded to be full of hatred, sourness, pride, and revenge.

" The observation concerning the true genius of our religion, ought to be extended to such persons as

having no interest in misinterpreting scripture, with the greatest sincerity imaginable contract a disagreeable rigour from wrong apprehensions of their duty. This is very apt to offend young minds, and make them draw conclusions to the disadvantage of religion; when, if what I have said concerning it be true, a natural sourness of temper, or a contracted way of thinking, can be the only cause of such a behaviour.

"I will subjoin but two observations more in favour of Christianity, which, in my opinion, weigh down by themselves all that can be said against it.

"The first is, that it points out a way more adapted to our nature than any doctrine of any religion or philosophy whatever. When it recommends universal charity, it both teaches the noblest of all principles, as tending the most of all to the happiness of those about us, and the most beneficial to ourselves, as equally conducing to our own.

"Is it possible that a person born and educated in an illiterate country, where the most narrow-spirited notions were in vogue through the misinterpretations of the rabbis, should, without some supernatural assistance, hit upon a doctrine so exactly coinciding with the strictest researches the most thinking men have been able to make since, and concerning a point which had puzzled the greatest philosophers before his time? He who can believe this may be-

lieve that the Hottentots may find out the longitude without the assistance of Astronomy, Navigation, or any of those sciences generally supposed as necessary to make such a discovery.

"The strength of the second observation consists in the same adaptation of the doctrine of Christianity to our nature. It has been observed that some of the sciences enlarge the moral faculties of the soul, particularly Astronomy, by raising us above this little spot, to which our bodies are confined. When we consider the immense tracts of space interspersed with worlds, each of them as big at least as our own, we are naturally led to look with contempt on the ambition of our species employed about a mole-hill. The observation is certainly just. But there is another science, if I may so call it, I mean that of eternity, which tends much more to give a greatness to our minds; nay, which is absolutely necessary on many occasions, to keep us even from the most abject meanness; and this science is only to be learnt with any assuredness, from our religion.

"The strongest of our species are but little able to resist the attacks which every thing around makes upon our bodies by insensible degrees; the most prudent are incapable of warding off all the blows which ill-designing men level at them; and those whom fortune smiles the most on, must unavoidably, in no very extensive course of years, undergo the loss

of their parents, children, and dearest friends. And when this happens, when diseases attack us, when age creeps on us, and perhaps loss of wealth or fame is joined to increase the burthen, what can support us, and guard us from distaste and peevishness, but the consideration of eternity, which makes all ideas of the short time we suffer in this life vanish? The fact is, that nothing but the persuasion, or at least some glimmering hopes of this, has, in all ages, inspired men with a becoming dignity when under misfortunes.

"I cannot help introducing here a thought which proves, through want of natural analogy, that we were not made for this world only.

"It is remarkable that all things around us grow unfit for the purposes of their creation by a gradual decay. The earth loses its fertility by much bearing; trees and plants lose their virtue of producing, fruits that of nourishing; water putrifies, air grows improper for respiration, stones moulder into dust, and metals rust or diminish by use; but man (not to mention other animals) stands forth a wonderful instance of increasing in perfection, and growing more fit for the purposes of a rational existence till the moment he is cut off. But surely reason tells us it cannot be for ever, unless we can suppose that Providence acts contrary to its usual course in this case only.

"My conclusion from what has hitherto been said shall be, that, as your reasons for believing Christianity are stronger than what every man can be master of; so your inducements to practise it are greater. As a man of learning and education in a Protestant country, you have opportunities of having all your difficulties and doubts cleared up; as a gentleman, and as being born in a nation where the love of your countrymen is particularly reckoned a duty, you are obliged to propagate it by your example; and, as having been brought up in virtuous principles, and inured early to reasoning, you are bound to practise its moral precepts, since they may be demonstrated to be nothing but the height of virtue and reason.

"I come naturally from this part of my discourse which relates to our duty towards God, to that which treats of our duty as social beings; this latter being one great end of the former. The chief consideration here is, that we were not made for ourselves alone; that as we are obliged by duty to endeavour after the happiness of others, so we cannot be happy any farther than as we aim at that end. It would be highly serviceable to reflect frequently on the view of Providence in forming us; and it seems of all things the most natural for a rational and curious creature so to do.

Our curiosity concerning the uses and designs of every thing about us, exerts itself very early, even sometimes to a degree of absurdity and impertinence; and would it not be wonderful if we should overlook ourselves, the object in this respect by much the most worthy of our attention, because the result of our inquiry must determine all our actions to good or evil? Yet would one suppose that a great part of mankind had ever seriously examined into the end of their existence? I think not, since so many of our actions bear no appearance of any view beyond our present gratification.

"However excusable this negligence may seem in those whose lives are totally taken up in providing necessaries for themselves and families (though even in that case there may be vicious degrees of selfishness); yet surely if those who abound in plenty and leisure pass their lives void of such reflections, it must be owing to a height of supineness not to be excused.

"There are few, I believe, of common good nature, who have not formed to themselves the most enchanting scheme of pleasure from an imaginary ability of relieving the wants and miseries of others. Such wishes I am certain, dear Sir, you must have had; and should they be turned into realities, would you let that which is undoubtedly in its own nature a blessing, become the contrary, and the cause of

self-condemnation? I believe not. Consider then with yourself, that Providence has placed you in a situation that must in the course of things, if you live, put it in your power to be that happy person: you may be the friend and father of many: your income will be too large to be spent on yourself alone: the only question will be, whether you will employ it in making your neighbours rejoice at your abundance, or envy your useless splendour; or lastly, whether you will choose to take a third way, perhaps more abominable than luxury itself, that of hoarding; and so deprive yourself and others of any benefit from the goods you possess.

"As to hoarding, so much has been said against it, and so little can be said for it, that I will not mis-spend your time in exposing its unreasonableness. I will only observe that a passion for money, when it is strong, is like all the other passions; it will entirely root up all sense of justice and humanity. To say a man may be covetous and honest at the same time, is as great a contradiction as to say a man may indulge a wrong passion, and yet obey reason. The same may be said with no essential alteration, of profuseness. It remains then, that you choose out of the two former ways; and, as I am certain you have sense enough to see which is right, I doubt not but you will have virtue enough to practise it.

"Methinks the complaints of all around us of the insufficiency of the common pursuits of life towards happiness, should stir up some curiosity in us, and put us upon trying how far benevolence and virtue would answer. The very idea of grandeur which attends such a disposition ought to have some temptation to rational creatures, fond of every thing which carries with it a mark of distinction, especially when there have been some shining examples of its efficacy. And, if passion shall be able to turn the scale in so important a point, there is an end of all human reasoning to any purpose, since it can only serve to tell us we are miserable.

"There is a prevailing mistake among some people, than which I think there can scarcely be a greater, that the bare abstaining from injustice is virtue sufficient; whereas, not to assist the wretched when we are able, shews a cruelty but little inferior to that of making men so. They who are unconcerned in the former case, would soon be so in the latter, if it were as consistent with indolence and safety; and the first strong passion which arises, generally discovers how far their regard to justice extends.

"I will not pretend to mark the measure of your charity; but I think you cannot well be excused from setting apart yearly a sum to be employed for that purpose. An incidental alms deserves not much commendation; it is a regular habit alone of doing

good which shews a true sense of benevolence. But your charity must not be confined to the distribution of money. A gentleman of your rank has many other ways of being beneficent; especially if you spend the greatest part of your time among your country neighbours, your superior understanding will put it in your power to advise the ignorant, to comfort the afflicted, and to confirm the modest. The countenance of one of your distinction will protect the deserving, and dishearten the little oppressor; and a smile from you may diffuse joy through an honest family. Surely the gratitude and good-will which a behaviour of this sort will beget in the minds of men, is a blessing too cheaply purchased to be neglected by a man of true spirit.

"Some, whom the world calls gentlemen, are apt to imagine it hard to have their time taken up with the impertinence of mean people, to hear their complaints set forth in an uncouth style, in ill-connected sentences, and accompanied with dismal faces. The dirt of such wretches gives them the spleen; their civilities are tedious; and then, what is all this to them? can they guard all around them from the difficulties of life? Perhaps they may more than they seem to be aware of, and find time besides for all proper amusements, as well as business.

"We find among the writers of Antiquity, that in the best times of the Roman Republic it was the

custom of men skilled in the Laws, or practised in business, to set apart daily some hours for giving advice to the lower sort of people in all difficult affairs. Those who resorted to them were called Clients, to which the term Patron answered, and carried with it the idea of some authority, as it naturally ought to do, since obedience and protection are reciprocal terms. Those who fancy, as men of great fortunes are sometimes apt to do, that obedience and power are so, mistake the nature of things, and absurdly claim homage, which is a relative duty, where there is no relation to found it upon. But whatever others may think or do, you, I hope, will never look upon your most precious hours as misemployed in the service of mankind, nor be too delicate to hear the representation of misery, when you consider what they must undergo who feel it.

"There are two more reasons, which chiefly relate to your own advantage, why you ought not to turn your back on the wretched. The first is, that you must not expect to pass through life without bearing any of its burthens. We are so formed for society, and so open to sympathy, that we must share in what touches our fellow-creatures. We cannot shut our eyes, or lock ourselves up without losing the blessings of life; and if we do look about, if we do converse with the world, we must see misfortunes, and hear complaints; and there is but one way left to diminish

our share of those sufferings, which is to relieve them to our utmost abilities.

"The second reason is, that by conversing with objects of wretchedness, we arrive at a temper of mind more suitable to our condition here, and consequently attain greater happiness even in this world, than by all the gaieties which luxury can afford. We shall certainly meet with difficulties, and we shall certainly meet them with a mind more prepared, when we see they are the lot of humanity.

"The man who has the principles of benevolence in him as laid down above, can never essentially act contrary to his duty towards mankind; yet, as he may mistake in the circumstances of it, I will just observe, that application has something so mean in it, that it ought to be made as easy as possible to all who stand in need of it. The shorter it is the better both for yourself and others, as it will employ less of your time, as it spares the modesty of the most deserving, and as it will be the only way of clearing you from the imputation of yielding to importunate impudence, which of all the lesser vices is the worst, and merits the greatest discouragement; for it robs the giver as well as him who had a better right to the gift. You cannot grant favours to every man; but you can do justice to every man by refusing them. There is a certain manner of denial that has so much the air of candour and even good-will, that it offends

no one worthy of regard; whereas, by shuffling delays, one may be unjust so long as to be forced at last to do a kindness to a man who has no other claim to it, but past ill usage.

"But it will not be sufficient that you be regular yourself, unless you also take care to keep your family in order. If your servants be let loose to riot and lord it over your poor neighbours, people will justly conclude you have not that regard you ought to have to their welfare, and the cruelty they shall be guilty of will turn to your dishonour. To be violent towards our servants for some trivial mistake, or some small detriment, and at the same time to permit them to riot, drink, swear, talk prophanely, and commit any insolence whatever among our neighbours which does not so immediately concern ourselves, is such a proof of selfishness, pride, avarice, and neglect for every thing really good, as must bring us into contempt with all thinking persons. On the contrary, no quality gives a man more dignity and weight, than that of passing by mere slips in conduct, and never shewing easiness in real crimes. The former is a proof of good-nature, and the latter of being really concerned for virtue.

"I would not advise you to be severe or haughty towards the meanest of your inferiors, but the greatest humanity is consistent with the strictest government. It is true you ought to behave toward them as fellow

creatures; but there is a wide difference between that and making them your familiars and confidants. When Christianity obliges us to humility, it cannot mean such an one as tends to the hurt of those towards whom it is exercised.

"Favourite servants are too often such as flatter and assist us in most of our vices; and the discouragement of those who attempt to gain upon us in that way is a lesson of morality to all in their station.

"Let diligence, sobriety, and integrity, be the only recommendation to your favour; and think not that the servant who has these virtues, is sufficiently paid with his wages. There ought to be a regular advancement according to merit in a family as well as in a state; and when rewards and punishments are improperly or irregularly dispensed, you must expect nothing but confusion, discontent, and disobedience. As the laws of society cannot extend to all the minute particulars of our duty in every state and relation of life; and as in all those instances where they are deficient, we are left to private justice; every man ought to look on himself as a lawgiver in his own house, and think himself as much accountable for his government, as a king in his kingdom. And surely he who is willing to keep up with decency the privilege of an Englishman to inquire into the management of his superiors, ought to be sure he acts up to his duty in the same way.

"As to particular intimacies, I shall say but little of them. I think it proper to imitate the great Author of our Religion on this head. His silence has been objected to by an eminent Writer *; but it appears to me that he has been fully answered. Men are rather too apt to be partial in this respect, and by that do prejudice to the rest of the world. However, if you should think a friend may be of service to you in many occurrences of life, I would not venture to dissuade you entirely from having one. But be sure it be one who really deserves that name; give not up yourself for trivial qualities to any man. Examine him the more severely, as he is to have a more close communication with you than the rest of mankind; and as in a great measure his behaviour will determine the opinion which the rest of the world will have of you; and since the preference you give him over others engages you in the vindication of his notions, take great care he be such a one as you may act that generous part by consistently with reason and truth. If we must have bosom friends, nothing is more important than the choice of them; and yet nothing is more frequently governed by accident. But the wise man seeks them, while the unthinking take such as are thrown in their way.

* Lord Shaftesbury.

"But, however happy you may be in friendship, let me above all things persuade you to extend your conversation to all sorts of men. There is a narrowness of thinking and sourness of mind contracted by conversing only with one set of acquaintance, that ends at last in something worse, the effects of perfect solitude itself, which is to be able to bear with none but fawning dependants, persons whose business it is to cherish in us all kinds of weakness and vices, and stifle all generous emotions towards others. Whereas being accustomed to contradiction, and seeing ourselves surpassed in many things by others, teaches us a proper humility on all occasions. It improves our faculties of thinking, inspires emulation, and hinders us from setting up for the standard of all human perfection.

"The thing most surprizing is, that we frequently see men of the brightest parts fall into this error. They grow above the common duties of life; and, from being used to one company only, disdain to speak in any other. If they do vouchsafe to open their lips, their oracles must be received with due reverence and submission, or disdainful treatment must be expected. And he who has patience enough to listen without indignation, must still with pity behold one of the greatest blessings of rational creatures carry with it so much the air of oppression. They seem not to apprehend that no superiority of

mind can destroy the equality essential to conversation, no more than that man's strength of body can give him a right to this man's possessions.

"But as you will not in all probability be confined to the duties of private life, I must touch upon your obligations, as you may have the honour of serving a nation. And here I must recommend to you Patriotism, whatever prejudices may have been taken against that word by some people, not as it may acquire you glory and reputation, nor as it was the practice of the genuine heroes of Antiquity; but as it is a part, and a very considerable part too, of Christianity. Let then this Christian patriotism be your guide in all your resolutions on whatever side it appears. You can have no motive to act in subserviency to any man, but such as you must unreasonably create; and if you do it without that one of necessity, you will want the only one which the worst of men ordinarily plead in their excuse.

"I would advise you on all occasions to be gentle towards persons, however great your zeal may be in the cause you defend. To make use of passion when reason is on your side, is putting yourself on a level with those who are in a bad cause. On the other hand, there is something so prevailing in a mild and at the same time unshaken resolution, that it will either convince, or at least leave favourable impressions on the minds of those who continue to

dissent from us; and if they find that we are unwilling to employ any heat against them, even when we have the superiority, they come always predisposed to agree with us whenever they can.

"In effect we may observe, that the calm man, and he who is master of himself, always carries his point, and becomes the master of others; while the man of warmth, even with eloquence and reason on his side, blazes out awhile, affords a superficial amusement, and dwindles at last into an unregarded prater. You perceive, dear sir, that I do not by this recommend a vicious coolness or indifference for the good of mankind. No; that man in my opinion must be so void of every sentiment noble and generous, who can be lukewarm when his country is in danger, that I would give my vote with a wise man of Antiquity, to punish him who could sit still at such a time.

"You must expect to meet with persons of great apparent wisdom who will either openly teach, or tacitly insinuate, the folly and imprudence of sacrificing any thing for the present or future good of others. They will treat the noblest sentiments you can produce, though sustained by the best reasons, as the prejudices of education, corrupted by chimerical notions. You will run the hazard of being thought a novice, who understands not the world; but he must be very weak who can be moved by

such prostitute rhetoric. Hold fast that which is good, is a maxim of such consequence, that he who cannot practise it in spite of any fashion to the contrary, must give up all pretence of being his own master, and abandon himself to the power of any one who shall find it his interest to make use of ridicule. Custom, no doubt, deserves some regard for our own sakes; but then we ought to examine whether it runs counter to any duty of morality or religion, and not barely among whom it prevails. For surely right and wrong, honourable and dishonourable, take not their qualities from worldly distinctions.

"But that you may not appear a pretender in the love you profess to your country, I must observe that it is absolutely necessary to shew by your behaviour in all the common relations of life, that you are truly animated by that noble principle. A vicious husband, an imperious master, a cruel father, and undutiful child, an unmerciful landlord, a quarrelsome neighbour, a debaucher of women, &c. cannot be a patriot. It is even absurd to suppose, that you can love the whole, and not love the parts of that whole. To use those you know ill, and in whose favour nature, custom, and reason plead; and at the same time to be even willing to give up life and fortune for those of whom you are totally ignorant, and of whom you can form no judgment but by analogy taken from your own acquaintance, is the highest contradiction.

It is a contradiction which has brought one of the most exalted titles into contempt; for really to indulge an inordinate passion, and give it a specious name, is something worse than barefaced villainy, because it affords an opportunity to ill-designing men, to confound the reality with the pretence, and by that means banish the former out of the world.

"It is the custom of certain people, not only to ridicule Patriotism, but also all discourse concerning Politics, unless in a particular place; but they seem to have as little reason in this case as in the other. Every man as a member of society, as a being naturally free, and voluntarily resigning up certain parts of his freedom for the good of the whole, has a right to inquire into the use his superiors make of that delegated power, and to speak his sentiments as things shall appear to him.

"The sense of a nation is proper to be known, and can only then be known with certainty, when particulars are allowed to speak; nor has that privilege ever been taken away but in countries where the end of government has been first destroyed.

"It is a bad sign when those concerned in any trust are afraid of examination; their cry may be perhaps that the *Arcana imperii* must be kept sacred; but it is now generally agreed that the ablest politicians have the fewest secrets, and that government may be very well carried on without much mystery. You

know, dear Sir, that the individuals of whole nations have been admitted into counsels of the greatest importance; and you know that when they were excluded, something worse than the so much magnified unsteadiness of a multitude took place, even the brutal and capricious will of tyrants. A multitude, it is true, may do injustice to particular men, and they have often in popular governments done it; but a tyrant only is capable of designing to make a whole nation wretched.

"The share every man has by his vote in the legislative power of this kingdom is a sufficient barrier against any such abuse in future, as it has been in past times, if men will make a right use of it; and shews at the same time that no one ought to think himself unconcerned in political matters, for it would be absurd to give any one a right of choosing his representative, and to suppose him incapable of judging whether the person chosen has fulfilled the intent of his election. I say this to vindicate a people upon whom much courtly wit has been misemployed, on account of their turn to politics. But another use may be made of what I have said, which is, that if you should have the honour of representing your Country in Parliament, you must remember to behave in such a manner as to be able to justify your conduct towards the represented, and not look upon yourself as ill used if it be enquired into.

"I must here take notice that, though I have written with some sort of method in these papers, I have no intent to write a complete treatise of morality. You may observe that I have only put together some thoughts which may tend to remove certain fashionable prejudices concerning points of the highest importance, and I may add of equal evidence. To pursue, therefore, my original plan, I shall not run through the several virtues, which, being agreed on by all, need not any confirmation from what I can say upon them. The neglect or open breach of those are too scandalous to need my warning, and the ordinary honour of a gentleman will be a sufficient security to you, as well as your own virtuous inclinations.

"But there is one offence against this branch of duty which I cannot pass over, because custom has almost turned it into an occasion of boast rather than of shame; I mean incontinence: some plead for this indulgence, who, nevertheless, make a scruple of practising gallantry in its greatest extent.

"He who is a real Christian, and believes the habit of one sin to be inconsistent with his profession, must give up the point, since no sin is oftener condemned, is placed amidst a blacker catalogue, or more clearly distinguished, and less liable to misinterpretation.

* * * * * *

"One farther reflection will tend very much to overturn the whole system of these debauchees. There are few men who do not some time or other of their lives enter into matrimony, and how unequally do the two parties come together.

"If the man happens to be one who makes a scruple of breaking the laws of the marriage bed, he is yet apt to look on his wife as a bar to the liberty he imagined he had a right to when single, of indulging his taste for variety. If he be not in that strict way of thinking, and so continue on in his former course, he is forced to carry on his intrigues with much more difficulty, and cannot help considering his wife rather as a troublesome spy than as an agreeable companion.

"I verily believe this unwarrantable freedom before marriage to be the source of much unhappiness after, and I fear the women themselves have contributed their share towards it by a maxim as absurd as common, which is, that a reformed rake makes the best husband. I would for my part as soon say, that a reformed villain makes the honestest man. Perhaps true repentance may produce examples of sincere and exalted virtue in all ways; but we must allow that vice is subject to relapses; that we often deceive ourselves, as well as others, as to reformation; and that a great degree of faith is requisite to raise an entire confidence in an old offender. What we

call and think repentance, is often nothing but a fit of the spleen, or an interval of satiety. It is true that, if men must some time or other be rakes, they had better be so in a single state. But I cannot help thinking that he who is never so, is still more likely to make a woman happy, and consequently to be so himself. I shall finish this subject with one reflection.

"Is the seduction of a wife, a daughter, or a sister, thought to call for all our vengeance, and can we possibly think the like action innocent in ourselves? Has this affair an exemption from the common rules of judging in all others? The conclusion must be, that this matter deserves a little serious attention at least, and that every idle jest of a loose companion ought not to be taken for good reasoning.

"I cannot quit this part of my discourse concerning social duties without warning you against all loose and vile talk. Many think, that if their actions be innocent, they may indulge themselves in any liberties of this kind. Nay, some very eminent writers, both antient and modern, have been in this mistake; but how they should be seriously so mistaken, is wonderful, since it must be founded on a ridiculous supposition, that not the injuring, but the manner of injuring, our neighbour makes the crime. Now, every one who knows mankind, must acknowledge that the

beginning of almost all corruption is by speech. The mind is often as much inflamed by expressions as by realities; at least it is brought, by being accustomed to the representation of a bad thing, to bear the horror of the actual commission of it.

"The progress towards vice is generally imperceptible, and the power we have over one another by words to render it so, is a power we ought to use very cautiously. I know no advantage that can arise from the abuse of them, but the diverting of such as one should choose rather not to be agreeable to.

"I come now to the last part of my design which relates to you as an individual. I have made this distinction because it is generally made, though I think it almost groundless; for we are so formed and constituted that all our actions have a manifest relation to society. It may perhaps seem whimsical when I say, that every action may some how or other affect the whole species; but upon inquiry it may be found to be literally true: and though this be no reason for a limited creature never to aim at his own amusement without foreseeing all the effects it may produce; yet surely it is a good one why we ought to take care in general that our very idlenesses may be of such a sort as not visibly to hurt others.

"Man ought to be viewed in every point of light where rules are to be prescribed for his conduct; all

that ought to be guarded against is, that the greater duty be not sacrificed to the lesser. To make them all consistent with one another is to mark out the true path of wisdom.

"You are therefore, no doubt, entitled by your frame to certain recreations, both because many of them are innocent, and others are commendable, as they contribute very much, when moderately used, to health of body and vigour of mind, and by that means fit you for the offices of society. They become vicious only by excess, when they engross a man's whole thoughts, and put the gentleman on a level with the meanest of mankind.

"I mean not by this to dissuade you from such exercises as naturally put you upon mixing with the lower sort of people on account of their manliness. On the contrary, it were much to be wished that they prevailed, instead of some which rather tend to unfit than to prepare the mind for business.

"I know of no diversion (for I would have what I am going to mention be such, and not an employment, as some gentlemen make it through avarice), I know of no diversion, I say, more suitable to a man of your fortune than a little farming. A few acres kept in your own hands to look over at an idle hour, and to embellish, would both serve for your instruction by making you a judge when your tenants were well used, instead of trusting to a steward, and give

you a relish for a country life, the proper residence for men of estates.

"The want of this taste, from whatever cause it has sprung, has filled this nation with gamesters, dancing-masters, fiddlers, French tailors, and Italian singers, the disgrace and ruin of common sense and virtue. It has crowded the town with gaudy beggars, and distressed the country with racking landlords, who think they have nothing to do upon their estates but go once a year to gather their rents, and pass a few months in a pitiful obscurity, the better to make a figure in town.

"The consequence of such a behaviour is easy to foresee; and the man of an age, fortune, politeness, and learning not unbecoming the gaiety of a court, who would set an example of an opposite conduct, would do no small service to this kingdom.

"There is something so charming in every thing relating to the country, so delightful in all its scenes, so healthful in its air, and so amusing in the exercises proper to it, that I do not wonder so much has been said in its commendation by the wits of all ages; and that the greatest statesmen and generals have not disdained even to share in its labours. But I wonder extremely that Art can ever get the better of Nature so far as to make any man totally disrelish all its pleasures for the cumbersome ones of the town. But your proper amusement, if I may so call it, for it

seems rather to be your business, is learning. It is a duty of the highest kind to employ that leisure which your fortune gives you in cultivating your mind, and not sit down with a mistake too frequently prevailing with young people, that their studies are finished at your time of life. It is impossible that they should be much more than begun. Languages, and what are called the Sciences, are but the instruments of attaining something farther; and a skill to apply them to that end makes all that knowledge which is really valuable.

"To set forth the benefits arising from learning would be impertinent. You, I am certain, dear sir, cannot be ignorant that it has very great ones; but I must observe, that the true design of it is not always rightly understood. To know more Greek or Latin than another, to be able to solve a difficult problem, to gain a capacity of speaking pertinently, floridly, and wittily, or to arrive at a degree of perfection in writing beyond the rest of the world, is the most aimed at by some of the learned; yet what is all this, if we have not acquired the knowledge of ourselves, and of the things around which most immediately concern us; if we are not able to make ourselves, and others good and happy; if we cannot direct our views aright; if we cannot keep our passions within their proper bounds; if we remain peevish, impertinent, proud, revengeful, inconstant,

lustful, covetous, &c. and employ our understandings, rather to palliate and gloss over our weaknesses, than to amend them? The illiterate ploughman who is free from these vices, or at least has got some sort of dominion over them, is a worthier man by far than a scholar in this case: and, though fame may make some difference in public between them to the advantage of the latter; yet esteem, and love, and every endearing sentiment of the heart, in private, will place the former in the highest rank of merit. And it is at this tribunal surely that every thinking man would choose rather to be applauded, as every thinking man would choose to be good and obscure rather than vicious and glorious.

"It was always with great pleasure that I have observed in you a turn and genius for History. It seems to keep a man in the just medium between the rigidness of abstract reasoning and the wantonness of imagination. The advantages of it are various, when it is read with proper reflections, and does not barely furnish the memory with facts and dates; when it is made use of as the means of growing acquainted with mankind, of viewing their various passions and the consequences they have produced, it leads a man naturally into a habit of behaving with dexterity in all occurrences, and gives him a readiness which scarcely experience can supply, or at least not without many repeated errors.

"The certainty of historical maxims, when founded, as they ought to be, upon frequent events, falls very little short of the certainty of those of natural philosophy; and if the former do not always seem to answer, the same may be said of the latter, and generally of both, for a similar reason, that some essential circumstance may not be sufficiently observed in the case they are applied to. For otherwise, like causes in all times and places must produce the like effects.

"A knowledge in the civil law and law of nature ought to be acquired for reading the history of other nations to the greatest advantage; and a general acquaintance with the English common law, is no less necessary when you study the history of your own country.

"But, though I particularly recommend to you history, I would not by any means confine you to it; Natural and Experimental Philosophy, besides amusement, has uses of the highest kind. It brings us to the knowledge of the works of our Creator, it teaches us to look up to him with veneration and gratitude, by offering to our view numberless proofs of his wisdom and goodness.

"Mathematics, as subservient to Natural Philosophy, claim also your thoughts. It is impossible to comprehend clearly, or read with pleasure the latter, without some degree of skill in the former.

"But I would not have you stop at these parts of learning only, or think your time lost in looking into the meanest of them, even Poetry itself *. They will all conduce to quicken your understanding, and throw light upon one another.

"For the same reason that I recommend a general acquaintance with all branches of knowledge, I would here advise you to make your studies general, but still with subserviency to one kind. Too fixed an application to a particular part of learning alone is apt to make the mind narrow, dogmatical, and prone to despise all other studies as useless. Whereas he who is a little acquainted with them all, will see a connection so close between them, that scarcely any could be lost without a detriment to the rest. Nay, I doubt not, but that an ingenious man might, though the relation perhaps is none of the easiest to be discovered, shew how the Metaphysician and Painter mutually assist each other.

"I shall say no more concerning amusements; but that you must take great care that the present may not be of such a nature as to break in upon the

* It is singular to observe a Poet, and man of sensibility like Stillingfleet, speak thus degradingly of Poetry; but we must consider that he is here treating it only as a source of amusement, and estimating its utility for the real purposes of life.

future; I mean that you do not give your mind too strong a bent to such as will hereafter misbecome you by joining the inclinations of twenty to the feebleness of fourscore. You ought to consider that you are at a time of life now when it will be proper to lay up provision for a worse time, which if you live must certainly come. The soul does not easily part with habitual ideas; and when the body no longer acts in concert with her desires, she does not therefore abandon them, but grows dissatisfied, and refuses to take comfort in such as ought to succeed.

"The best thing, therefore, to be done is to mark out a plan by which to conduct yourself steadily. In all other affairs, we look on the man as mad who hopes to bring about any end without suiting all the means to it; in life we blunder on from stage to stage, meet constantly with disappointments, and then complain of Providence that we are not happy. Were it not for this complaint, one would be apt to think that happiness in some people's opinion is of so little value, that it is not worth while seriously to attend to the attainment of it. For surely, if it be, we cannot justly complain of Providence, that it is not so obvious, but that it is possible to be missed.

"I will sum up all I have to say in the following proposition, which, if attended to, will be of the greatest importance in every circumstance of your

life: which is, that the more you hunt after pleasures of any kind but those arising from virtue, the fewer even of that kind you will certainly have; or, in other words, that, as a creature endued with animal appetites, you will enjoy the greatest share of animal gratifications; as blessed with the powers of imagination, you will find the truest and liveliest delights arising from that faculty; as having the sense of honour, you will arrive at the greatest and noblest distinctions among your fellow creatures; as a rational being, you will partake most of the pleasures of reason; and lastly, as a being capable of pleasing the Deity, you will meet with the highest approbation from that great and eternal source of wisdom, by that course of life which shall be accompanied with the most extensive benevolence.

"If all these considerations will not prevail upon you, you must resolve to pursue what you will never attain; to wish for what you will never possess; to place your happiness in what can never give it; and, in short, to be disappointed in every thing you purpose.

"We must be what we were formed; things will remain what they are; and as long as there shall be certain relations between one and the other, the proper application of both can alone produce any fixed end.

"The proof of this proposition you will, I hope, see set forth in its full light by our friend Dr. Hartley; and therefore I will not attempt to demonstrate it, both as it would require too great a length, and as it would be presumption in me to handle any subject after him. You are at present to take it for granted; and give me leave to observe to you, that a little faith, and the experience of thinking and serious men, will be of the greatest use to you on all occasions.

"We all think differently in the different stages of our lives; we correct ourselves continually; then why not be corrected by others who have gone before us in the way we are pursuing? They can have no motive to deceive us, but that of pure malice, which to imagine as influencing all the most rational of our species, is being censorious to a degree of absurdity. We look back ourselves with contempt on the actions of our infancy; and to imagine we can grow no wiser as soon as ever we discover we are liable to be mistaken, is an imagination which seems to contradict the supposition that we are grown wiser.

"But whatever value you may set on the advice of others, you may, and I doubt not will be happy in the advice of one who can have no interest but yours at heart; and whatever thoughts some in their youth may have had, there are few advanced in years who do not reflect on several important passages in their

life, in which advice, accompanied with such an authority as that of a prudent and kind parent carries with it, would not have been of service to them.

"You must be sensible by this time, dear Sir, that I have kept the promise I made to you in the beginning of these papers, of writing more for your instruction than entertainment. I hope the plain dress of this letter will recommend it to you more than all the ornaments which wit or oratory could have bestowed upon it. I have aimed throughout at nothing but to put you in such a way as may, if I be listened to, make you one day a good and great man; and if I shall have in any degree contributed to that end, I shall look on all my little endeavours as well employed in your service.

"The greatest reward I can have is to see you a blessing to mankind; and should you (pardon the supposition) prove otherwise, I should desire this might stand as a testimony against you, that it is not through ignorance. God has granted you parts and fortune sufficient to raise you above the generality of mankind; and from great opportunities much is expected. Others may be innocent, if they be not wicked; one in your situation must be wicked, if he be not beneficent. My best wishes shall always attend you; and because they are sincere, and not because I am vain, I desire you will now and then

bestow a look on these papers. Consider them as a collection of family receipts, which, though not drawn up in the most elegant manner, may convey good instructions, or at least furnish hints for something better. I am, dear Sir,

"Your most affectionate
" and humble Servant,
" BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET."

CHAPTER IV.

Unfortunate Attachment to Miss Anne Barnes—Effects of his Disappointment.

WHILE Mr. Stillingfleet was employed in the grateful task of instructing a youth of superior talents and amiable disposition; and was diversifying this occupation with the sports of the field, and the pleasures of domestic society; he was insensibly led to a tender attachment, which for many years disturbed the quiet of his hitherto tranquil life.

Among the constant visitors at the mansion of Felbrig, were the family of Barnes, who lived in the parsonage of Long Reps. Mr. Barnes, the father, had been in the profession of the law at Norwich, and had espoused the daughter of Dr. Beck, prebendary of that Cathedral, and rector of North Reps and Felbrig. In consequence of this connection, on quitting his profession, he removed to the parsonage of North Reps, which was lent him by

his father-in-law, and soon became intimate at the social mansion of Felbrig. Being equally devoted to the pleasures of the field and the table, his agreeable manners and convivial disposition won him the esteem of all the neighbouring gentry. His son, Mr. Edward Barnes, was, in the language of the times, an humourist, and to the convivial disposition of his father, united a great portion of wit and vivacity, which rendered him the soul of the society. The daughter, Miss Anne Barnes, was distinguished for her fascinating manners, lively character, and elegant person, and was now in the first bloom of youthful beauty.

Mr. Stillingfleet was about the age of twenty-two when he first became acquainted with this agreeable family. Romantic and sensitive in his disposition, and not hackneyed in the ordinary dissipations of youth, he seems to have been entangled in frequent though virtuous attachments to the fair sex, of which disposition his early poetry bears numerous proofs. In his first printed effusion, written in 1723, he observes:

"Long has my soul in vain with beauty strove,
And vanquished reason often stoop'd to love;
In me no arrows have resistance found,
And Cupid never shot but sure to wound.
* * * * * *
"When night with sable curtain veils the day,
And drives with awful shades the light away,

Sleep does my eyes with easy fetters close,
And gentle slumbers soften my repose.
"If e'er my wand'ring fancy chance to stray,
And to some unknown region wing her way,
No hideous spectre haunts the pleasing dream,
But some fair flow'ry mead, or purling stream,
Some shady grot, or everlasting grove,
The soft retreats of innocence and love.
Or some fair nymph, on tender moss réclin'd,
Leaves a delightful picture on my mind."

Among the poetical effusions of his early associates, are frequent allusions to this romantic turn in his disposition. But these fantasies, which merely warmed and amused the imagination of the youthful poet, were supplanted by a serious and ardent passion, the object of which was Miss Anne Barnes, the lady just described.

Unfortunately for Mr. Stillingfleet, the intercourse became more frequent and intimate, in consequence of the nomination of Mr. Edward Barnes to the rectory of Felbrig, when that living became vacant by the death of Dr. Beck, in 1729. The family, grateful for this unsolicited act of kindness, increased their attentions to their benefactor; and, from visitors, became almost domiciliated in his mansion. At this time, the ripening charms and fascinating manners of the daughter were daily gaining new strength, and daily made a deeper impression on the heart of

our young philosopher. The lady herself was flattered with the attentions of a man so sensible, mild, and amiable, and equally beloved and respected by all who knew him. With the inexperience of youth and the thoughtless gaiety of a volatile temper, she encouraged his addresses, and he passed several years in her society, in the ardent hope that a favourable change in his circumstances at no distant period would unite him with the object of his first and lasting passion. But an attachment apparently so durable did not escape those fatalities to which this passion seems almost peculiarly exposed; and, after a long and hopeful courtship of ten years, the prudence of the lady outweighed her affection. As she was, herself, without fortune, and Mr. Stillingfleet without profession, employment, or means of establishing himself in life, she listened to an advantageous offer, and soon afterwards espoused a Mr. Russel, a richer and more fortunate rival.

This cruel disappointment, which crushed at once his darling and long-cherished hopes, made a deep impression on his feeling heart. I find among his papers a philippic against Woman, which is a singular proof how anguish and disappointment could change the sentiments of a man so mild and amiable, so fond of domestic life, and so respectfully attached to the fair sex.

" Is't not enough, too many of our days
Are wasted in the service of the sex,
Design'd at first to be the slave of man,
T' afford some respite to his duller moments,
When tir'd with more important cares of life?
Sure this is more than reason will allow;
And shall we then by idolizing one,
Like children, who refuse the wholesome draught
But from the nurse's hand, increase our weakness?
Believe me, Nature's not so delicate.
The tender dame with well proportion'd limbs,
And on whose boasted face by just degrees
The red and white are artfully commixt;
Or the robust, the sun-burnt clumsy lass,
Are much the same to her; 'tis Fancy adds
Th' important grain that turns the dubious scale.
But then the heart, you'll say, is what we aim at;
'Tis that employs our wish, that gives the spirit
To all the joys of Love; 'tis like the amber
That girds the embalmed fly, preserves entire
Their fading charms. But who'll secure the heart
Of woman, born and bred a mere Comedian?
Dissembling ever was the sex's trade;
The study of their lives is but to please;
And yet that very study can they hide,
Ev'n when they most attempt it. Trust 'em not;
For they can fawn and look demurely down,
If it but suit their present purposes,
While inwardly they glow with lust or pride.
Oh! they can smile with such unmeaning kindness

As might deceive the most discerning eye,
And make the least conceited dream of favours,
Who knew them not. To see them so bewet
Their pretty cheeks with tears, like the dew-drops
Upon the blushing rose; but like them too
They dry away, and leave no trace behind
Soon as the sun but shines. Is this the creature
Whose heart we fondly hope we shall possess?
And what 's a heart? 'Tis but the Miser's treasure,
Which gives much care to the imagin'd owner,
Subject each moment to be stol'n away,
And of no real value when secure.
Had Nature wrought into my frame the power
To gain the costly trifle, woman's heart,
Not Midas faster to the stream could run
To purify his gold-creative touch,
Than I to lose that power, even at the price
Of never more possessing female charms;
Choosing the little hunger to endure,
Rather than live in a perpetual surfeit."

The first emotions of passion gradually subsided; but the disappointment of his early hopes changed his character and manners, and produced an indifference to all the pursuits and avocations of life, which he never afterwards shook off. To this disappointment he alludes in his Essay on Conversation:

"Oh! save me from the jilt's dissembling part,
Who grants to all, all favours but her heart;

Perverts the end of pleasing, for the fame;
To fawn, her business, to deceive, her aim.
While all are pleas'd, and wretched soon or late,
All but the wise, who see and shun the bait."

Again:

"When warm with youth we tread the flow'ry way,
All nature charms, and ev'ry scene looks gay;
Each object gratifies each sense in turn,
Whilst now for rattles, now for nymphs we burn.
Enslav'd by friendship's, or by love's soft smile,
We ne'er suspect, because we mean no guile;
Till, flush'd with hope, from view of past success,
We lay on some main trifle all our stress;
When, lo! the mistress or the friend betrays,
And the whole fancied cheat of life displays."

Some anecdotes of his unsuccessful passion are still related by those who knew him at this early period of his life. He is said to have walked several miles in a cold winter night, to steal a distant glance, not at the eyes of his mistress, but at the candle which lighted her to bed. Jealous of the attentions of his rival, Mr. Russel, who afterwards married the lady, he once extorted from her a promise not to dance with him at the ball of the Norwich assizes, while he was absent in London; and appointed his friend Mr. Marsham as his Argus on the occasion. The fair coquette did not, however, keep her promise, and,

when Mr. Marsham threatened to make his report, she, confident of her power over the captive heart of her lover, gaily replied, "Tell him, if you please; I will say the contrary, and see who will be believed."

To soothe the alarming agitation of his mind in the first emotions of disappointment, and to dissipate the deep despondency into which he sunk, as well as to remove him from the object of his hopeless passion, Mr. Windham sent him on a tour to the Continent with his pupil, who had then reached the twenty-second year of his age.

CHAPTER V.

Accompanies his Pupil to the Continent — Residence at Geneva—Common Room and Theatrical Representations —Connections and Acquaintance—Excursion to the Glacieres of Chamouny.

IN the beginning of 1737, Mr. Stillingfleet and his companion quitted Felbrig, and repaired to the Continent. The events of this Tour, and the connections to which it gave rise, fixed the future course, and formed the happiness of his life. While on the tour of Italy, he became acquainted at Rome with Mr. Price of Foxley in Herefordshire; with Mr. Aldworth, afterwards better known by the name of Neville, of Stanlake in Berkshire; with Lord Haddington, a Scottish Peer; his brother Mr. Baillie*;

* Lord Haddington, and Mr. Baillie, who took his name from his uncle, to whom he was heir, were the sons of Charles Lord Binning, who died at Naples in 1732. His beautiful poetical ballad, "Did ever Swain a Nymph adore," is printed in Nichols's

their eccentric tutor the amiable Mr. Williamson; Mr. Tate, a Leicestershire gentleman; and the Rev. Dr. Dampier. With this agreeable society Mr. Windham and Mr. Stillingfleet formed an intimate connection, and their friendship was cemented by a new meeting at Geneva *. Here they established a kind of Community, or Common Room, where they passed their leisure hours in amicable or literary intercourse, admitting occasionally persons of different countries, distinguished either by any superior merit, or singular peculiarity. Among other amusements, they occasionally read Plays; and ultimately engaged in Theatrical representations.

In these representations they were joined by the two Counts of La Lippe, one of whom was afterwards distinguished as the celebrated General and Engineer; by Mr. Hervey, afterwards Earl of Bristol †;

Collection, vol. VI. p. 265, with some account of his life. He also composed a Satire, intituled "The Duke of Argyle's Levee, supposed to be spoken by Colonel Chartres," printed in the Gent. Mag. for 1740. Lord Haddington succeeded to the honours of his grandfather in 1735. See the Sixth and Seventh Sonnets, p. 166, 167.

* See the character of Mr. Price by Stillingfleet in the second part, p. 169; and those of Mr. Price, Windham, and Williamson, by Mr. Neville, in the 9th Chapter of this Biographical Sketch.

† George William, eldest son of John Lord Hervey, the celebrated antagonist of Pope, and the friend of Sir Robert Wal-

and Mr. Churchill. Either from diffidence, or a want of theatrical talents, Mr. Stillingfleet was not an actor, but took the part of director of the machinery; and with his friend Mr. Price superintended the Orchestra. A pleasing account of the transactions of this little society has been preserved by the lively pen of Mr. Aldworth Neville.

"Soon after my arrival at Geneva, the English were going to act a play, The Siege of Damascus; and every part was cast and engaged but one; *viz.* Herbis. They told me their plan, and proposed my being of their party; I accepted it with the more joy, as I had ever had a taste for acting, and had played several parts at Eton school; I accordingly undertook Herbis. At our first rehearsal, Windham, who was to play Phocias, said he would never act Phocias to my Herbis, and insisted on our changing parts, which was at last agreed to, notwithstanding my reluctance. Our success in this attempt, and in Macbeth, which we performed afterwards, was beyond imagination: our countrymen flocked from all parts to see us, and flattered us by declaring that we excelled the London actors. Indeed, at that time

pole. He succeeded his grandfather John in the title of Earl of Bristol in 1768, and was afterwards ambassador extraordinary in Spain, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Garrick was not known; and we had the good fortune to strike out something in the same manner, which he carried afterwards to a much higher perfection. I mean by following Nature, and exploding the measured step and unmeaning rant, in which the periwig-pated heroes of the Stage at that time made all great acting to consist. We likewise had Pantomimes; and that the ladies and gentlemen might follow the Play, we made extracts, scene for scene, which were printed and delivered to the spectators, and the applause they paid us shewed the pains we took were not lost. For the farther honour of our little colony I must add, that the Pantomimes were composed by ourselves; and had a regular conduct and plot. The principal scenes were painted by Price and Windham, and very well; and the prettiest airs in the Pantomimes were the composition of Price and Stillingfleet. The several machines likewise, some of which were complicated enough, were designed, directed, and played off by ourselves. The parts were cast as follows:

SIEGE OF DAMASCUS.

Eumenes	Count Wm. de la Lippe.
Phocias	Mr. Aldworth.
Caled	Mr. Price.
Davan	Count Geo. de la Lippe.
Abadah	Mr. Churchill.

Artamon	Mr. Bateman.
Herbis	Mr. Windham.
Eudocia	Mr. Hervey.

MACBETH.

Macbeth	Mr. Aldworth.
Macduff	Mr. Windham.
Banquo	Mr. Price.
Malcolm	Mr. Churchill.
Duncan	Mr. Bateman.
Rosse, Donalbaine, &c. .	Count Geo. de la Lippe.
Angus & Bleeding Capt.	Count Wm. de la Lippe.
Lady Macbeth . . .	Mr. Hervey.

"In this Play we made several alterations; some from necessity, others from judgment. The omission of Lady Macduff was from the first consideration. The changing of the Witches and their brooms into Magicians with long beards and black gowns, was from the second. This alteration, instead of ridicule, produced additional awe and horror. Garrick has since approved the idea; but owned he durst not carry it into execution himself for fear of offending the Gallery.

PANTOMIMES.

Harlequin	Mr. CHURCHILL.
Pierrot	Mr. ALDWORTH.
Pantaloon	Count WM. DE LA LIPPE.
Boor Servant	Mr. WINDHAM.
Scaramouch	Mr. PRICE.
Poet	Count GEO. DE LA LIPPE.
Cobler	Mr. PRICE.
Colombine	Mr. HERVEY.
Poet's Wife	Mr. ALDWORTH.
Prompters	Mr. CRUSIUS. / Dr. DAMPIER.

Director of the Scenes and Machinist,
Mr. STILLINGFLEET.

The Orchestra led and directed by the celebrated
Violin, GASPARD FRITZ.

"The novelty of a Play at Geneva at that time was a strong circumstance in our favour. The idea caught all kinds of people. Even the Magistrates adopted our plan; and to mark how much they protected us, lent us a place to erect our Theatre, and ordered two serjeants of their garrison to attend us constantly. Nay, they were themselves present at our representations. To this must have been owing in

great measure that although the whole town was anxious to see us, and we had places only for 200. I do not recollect the least riot or disturbance: indeed, to gratify as many as we could, we acted each play three or four times, by which means there were very few persons of distinction that did not see us once. All foreigners at the Academy for the same purposes as ourselves (amongst whom were the Princes of Anhalt and others of great rank) received tickets sent from the Society every night: the four Sindics and the English entered without any. This proper attention to so many people left us not more than eight or ten tickets each, which were sure to be disposed of among those families that were most remarkable for shewing civility to our countrymen. This policy opened many a door that had been shut against us. We were certainly an excellent troop. Though I have read Cibber, and considered the modern Stages both of London and Paris, I really think we deserved the name of Actors. I never saw Lord Bristol equalled but by Mademoiselle Clairon *. Price did his parts with great judgment and propriety. My friend Churchill was a perfect Harlequin; I question if Rich was equal to him, combining grace, action, and agility. The eldest Count de la Lippe entered into the very

* Mr. Neville might have added that he particularly excelled in Pierrot.

soul of Davan; the youngest (the great Buckburg) would have done better if he had been less conceited. All were perfect in their parts, and superior in every respect to those who in the best theatres are destined to the same performances.

"In the end of the year 1742, I was left the only remaining Member of the Common Room which we established in 1740; and, though I had made acquaintance with most of the families of consequence in the town, nothing could prevent my pining for the loss of such friends."

Mr. Stillingfleet, as well as his pupil, being inured to bodily exercises, and attracted by the wonders of Nature, they, with the other Members of the Common Room, made frequent excursions into the valleys of the Alps, and in particular visited those icy regions which stretch at the foot of Mont Blanc. They are said to have been the first travellers who penetrated into these Alpine recesses; and they gave the result of their observations to the publick in a small treatise which was written chiefly by Mr. Windham and Mr. Price, with the assistance of Mr. Stillingfleet, and illustrated with the drawings of Mr. Price. It is an excellent account topographical and descriptive, and first suggested the grand comparison of these glacieres to a sea suddenly frozen in the midst of a storm. The title is, "A Letter from an English Gentleman to

Mr. Arlaud, a celebrated painter at Geneva, giving an Account of the Glacieres, or Ice Alps of Savoy, written in the year 1741. They thus opened to their own countrymen in particular, and to Europe in general, those stupendous works of Nature, which had been hitherto scarcely known, except to the native mountaineers; and they gave the first impulse to that curiosity which has since led travellers of every nation into the wildest recesses of the Alps, and has produced discoveries highly valuable to the cultivators of Natural History in general, and equally important towards ascertaining the structure and changes of the globe.

CHAPTER VI.

Returns to England—Desultory mode of life—Maintains his friendship and connection with the Members of the Common-room—Studies and literary pursuits—Intended Commentary on Milton—Fragments on that Poet—Poetical Compositions—Sonnets—Essay on Conversation, and Poem on Earthquakes.

BUT this society and these amusements, however gratifying, could not be lasting; for the different members were soon called away to the active pursuits of life, and the gay and friendly circle was completely dispersed before the commencement of 1743, when Mr. Stillingfleet had returned with his pupil to England.

He did not resume his abode at his former residence of Felbrig, as well because his young friend and pupil was frequently absent, as because his former mistress, who had now espoused Mr. Russel, resided with her husband at Hamworth, in the vicinity, and frequently visited the mansion. Notwithstanding the lapse of

time and change of scene, his feelings were too delicate to encounter the chance of frequent meetings with the object of his former attachment; and he was therefore at this period without a fixed home. He was wholly dependent on the bounty of Mr. Windham, from whom he received an annuity of an hundred pounds *per annum*, which was continued after the death of his patron, in 1749, by his Pupil. For some time after his return he resided principally in Panton-square, in a house jointly tenanted by Mr. Windham and Mr. Price, but paid frequent visits to the country residences of Mr. Aldworth Neville, and Mr. Tate, one of whom was settled at Stanlake in Berkshire, and the other at Mitcham in Surrey. He likewise passed some intervals at Stratton in Norfolk, the seat of his early friend Mr. Marsham, with whom his connection was cemented by congenial taste, pursuits, and habits.

Without any profession or pursuit, the occupations of Mr. Stillingfleet were unconnected and desultory, though he was constantly absorbed in literary speculations, and forming plans of various publications. He devoted a considerable part of his time to the study of the Classic authors; particularly of Homer, whom he justly considered as the first of Poets; of Plato, to whose style and manner he was peculiarly partial; and above all of Aristotle, for whose prin-

ciples he was a zealous enthusiast. Imbibing the spirit of these Antients, he meditated various works illustrative of their respective systems, and left among those Manuscripts which have escaped the flames, many fragments, not unworthy of his taste and learning. He composed Dialogues in the manner of Plato on miscellaneous subjects of poetry, criticism, and eloquence, metaphysics and grammar; and he meditated an Answer to Locke's Essay on the Understanding, whose doctrine of no innate ideas militated against the system of ideal beauty so ably developed by his favourite Hutchinson. Of all these multifarious writings many have been destroyed, and the few which remain are not sufficiently finished to be communicated to the public.

At length his application took a more specific turn. The classical taste and imitations of Milton gave him a high place in the estimation of so excellent a scholar and sagacious a critic as Mr. Stillingfleet. No Commentary had hitherto been given of the Paradise Lost, except that of Patrick Home, which was pedantic, tedious, and trivial; and that of Bentley, which was not executed with the felicity of his classic editions, and contained whimsical and arbitrary alterations of the text, and unsatisfactory, needless, or erroneous explanations. Mr. Stillingfleet therefore thought it would be a high gratification to the Literary world to receive a new and correct edition

of this Poet, illustrated with critical explanations, and the parallel passages which he has interwoven in his composition from Holy Writ, the Classics, and the early Italian Poets. No one was better qualified for the task than our Author, from his varied and extensive reading, and his intimate acquaintance with those branches of sacred and profane Literature in which Milton himself excelled. He executed this plan with much taste and discernment, and, before publication, submitted his Collections to the examination of his friend Dr. Dampier, in whose critical skill and learning he placed great confidence.

But the same fatality attended him in this as in many other pursuits; for, at the moment when he was preparing his work for the press*, his design was anticipated by the publication of Proposals from Dr. Newton. Unwilling to struggle against the powerful patronage of Lord Bath, by whom that undertaking was supported, or to interfere with the plan of another scholar, he without hesitation relinquished his design. An interleaved copy of Milton, containing his Notes, is now in the possession of the Bishop of Ely, son of Dr. Dampier, and was communicated to

* Notwithstanding the rooted prejudice of Stillingfleet against Bentley, he touches with a delicate hand even the errors and defects of that great but dogmatical Scholar; and says of him, as Petavius of Scaliger, "*Dum errat docet*," he teaches even while he errs.

the Reverend Mr. Todd, for his new edition of Milton. Of this work the judicious and learned Editor thus handsomely speaks:

"Dr. Dampier on being made acquainted in 1800 by my very kind and zealous friend Dr. Luxmoore, with this undertaking, obligingly transmitted to me an interleaved copy of Paradise Lost, with numerous manuscript notes, by that accomplished scholar, the late Benjamin Stillingfleet, Esq. They contain not only the chief classical allusions which are found in Dr. Newton's edition, but references to, or citations of various other passages, subservient to the illustration of the poem. They had been put together about the year 1745, with a view to publication; but were left unfinished, from the apprehension that they would not make their way in opposition to Dr. Newton's edition, which was then announced under the patronage of Lord Bath. These particulars are gathered from several important letters of Mr. Stillingfleet to Dr. Dampier's father, formerly Dean of Durham, to whom he had presented his interleaved Paradise Lost. From one of these letters, intrusted to me also by Dr. Dampier, I selected the truly Miltonic Sonnet, written by Mr. Stillingfleet, which I have printed in the preliminary observations on the sonnets in the sixth volume of this edition*." So far Mr. Todd.

* Preface to Todd's Milton, 2nd edit. p. 8.

The original copy of this commentary in an interleaved book was found among his papers, and communicated to me by the favour of Mr. Locker. The numerous references of every kind in different languages prove the vast extent of Mr. Stillingfleet's reading, and may still furnish materials for new commentators.

Among Mr. Stillingfleet's manuscript collections, are several remarks on Milton, which he, doubtless, purposed to introduce in his intended edition. In one he vindicates the machinery of his favourite poet.

"It has been objected to Milton," he says, "that he has sometimes pushed his boldness too far in his Paradise Lost, by putting words into the mouth of Omnipotence, and, as Pope says, 'making God the father a school divine*.' But, whether his

* In one of his notes on verse 780, Book III. he has made a similar remark. "*Only begotten Son.* I will make one general observation on this, and all the speeches in the poem, put into the mouth of God the Father, which is, that nothing can be more unjust than Pope's criticism of Milton, accusing him of making God *turn school divine*, unless he meant by school divinity, the doctrine of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John, &c. for Milton has copied them with the greatest exactness, and bating a word or two (fully implied, however, in these writers,) has kept to their very expressions." Todd's Milton, Book 3, ver. 80. Vol. III. p. 14.

rashness consists in bringing the Omnipotent into his Poem, or in putting wrong interpretations on Revelation, is another question. The first is only one of those fictions which are ordinary in poetry, when, as the imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown, the poet turns them into shape. It was, therefore, as proper for Milton to deliver his articles of faith in that way, as for a divine to do it in his own person; and those are equally blameable, when in any point of religion they deliver for a certain explication of the sense of Scripture, doctrines which lead to absurdity, not considering that it is their duty to be silent on points above their comprehension. The neglect of this rule has made men talk most arrogantly when they ought to have talked most humbly, and rise in their zeal when indulgence was most necessary.

"The best defence of Milton is, that he has given us the notions prevalent in his days; notions founded upon metaphysical reasonings about the nature of evil; and it is highly probable, that if he had lived to see the doctrine of predestination explained according to the rules of true criticism, he would not only have been a better divine, but a better poet. For this part of his poem is the least relished, which shews how necessary it is to entertain right ideas of the nature of religion on certain occasions, to be truly poetical.

"Whatever is the cause, it is certain, at least, that the liberty which poets in general have taken on this matter has never succeeded. If they be timorous, they are apt to fall into meanness; if not, they are in danger of bringing religion into contempt. This has been censured by the cold but judicious Boileau in his allusions to the Gierusalemme of Tasso.

"C'est donc bien vainement que nos auteurs deçus
Bannissent de leurs vers ces ornemens reçus;
Pensent faire agir Dieu, les Saints, et les Prophètes,
Comme ces Dieux eclos du cerveaux des Poetes;
Mettent à chaque pas le lecteur en enfer,
N'offrent rien qu' Astaroth, Belzebuth, Lucifer;
De la foi d'un Chrêtien les mystères terribles,
D'ornemens egarés ne sont point susceptibles
L'evangile à l'esprit n'offre rien de tous cotés,
Que pénitence à faire, et tourmens merités,
Et de nos fictions le melange coupable
Méme à ses verités donne l'air de la fable;
Et quel objet, enfin, à presenter aux yeux,
Que le Diable toujours heurlant contre les cieux,
Qui de vôtre heros veut rabaisser la gloire.

To these censures we may observe, every poet ought not to take this liberty; it requires the sublimest genius not to fall into burlesque or insipidity in handling such subjects. But, had Boileau been

acquainted with the Paradise Lost, he would have changed his style; for there are certain boldnesses which it is necessary to see actually practised with success before we can believe them practicable.

"Nothing can shew more strongly the vanity of speculation, than by observing that what he imagines must from its nature shock, really furnishes the greatest beauties to Milton. The first book, which offers nothing to our view but Hell, Astaroth, Beelzebub and Lucifer, is so much relished by all readers, that they are even ready to complain that it does injury to the rest of the Poem. The language of Satan is as different from what it is in the Gierusalemme Liberata, as his shape is different from the picture which children form of him. It is not a malicious driveller with hoofs and horns that blasphemes, but a Being who had not yet lost all his original brightness; an arch-angel ruined, and susceptible of short, though ineffectual fits, even of the humane passions.

"But such cold and trifling objections would check the sublime flights of poetry; for, if the supernatural beings of our religion were to be excluded from verse, what would be introduced in their stead, but the Pagan Mythology? It has been indeed asserted, that heroes are not beings of such importance as to require liveried angels to lacquey them, and that Epic Poetry may equally dispense with the agency of Christian Spirits, or

Pagan Deities, the latter being too gross to be believed, the former too venerable to be treated so slightly.

"We may reply, it would be an useless endeavour to prove that the nature of any poem demands such kind of ornaments: it is enough that we have been always accustomed to them, and that we disrelish all which want them. Even the cold Boileau expressly declares that poetry languishes without such ornaments, and the poet becomes a timid orator, or insipid historian. On this principle the fictitious personages of Sin and Death may be vindicated; for besides what Addison has advanced in their defence, Milton is justified by the example of the greatest tragic writers of antiquity. Euripides has personified Death in one of his plays, and Sin is only a copy of the Furies in the Orestes of Eschylus. Since, therefore, such imaginary beings have been brought on the stage before the most enlightened nation of antiquity, why should they not appear in epic poetry? In short, it is the boldness of personification which distinguishes poetry from mere versification; and the want of personification, which ranks verse even below prose.

"Even Lucretius was so sensible of the beauty of the received machinery, that he formally contradicted his whole system of belief, by that exquisite address to Venus in the beginning of his work, rather than omit so fine an ornament to poetry."

* * * * * *

"Milton is certainly the man, if any such is to be found, who answers the idea of a perfect poet, given by Ben Jonson in his Preface, 'He that is able to inform young men to all good disciplines, inflame grown men to all virtues, keep old men to their best and supreme state, or as they decline to childhood, recover them to their first strength; that comes forth the interpreter of nature, a teacher of things divine no less than humane, a master in manners, and can alone, or with a few, effect the business of mankind.'

"I think I see all this in Milton; he brings to my mind one of those venerable prophets and civilisers of mankind, whom he modestly wishes to resemble. When I read him, I seem to read something more than poetry; and could I think of a higher name, I would give it to that kind of writing which makes devotion go hand in hand with amusement, and turns the enthusiasm of the imagination into that of the purest faith; which leads us almost by means of the senses, to the knowledge of things the most remote from them, and which inspires us with humility, repentance, and resignation, amidst the noblest and most pleasing proofs of the sublimity, as well as purity of the human mind.

"In this light the character of Milton is truly great and uniform throughout all his works; for none

but the highest objects appear in the slightest of his performances.

"As the flights of fancy are founded on common belief, so are its means of working on the passions founded on common sense. No man had more of these than Milton, and no man was ever more truly poetical. He has at least equalled all the antients whom he imitated: the sublimity of Homer, the justness and majesty of Sophocles, the softness of Theocritus, and the gaiety of Anacreon. His imitation of Anacreon, shews that every thing takes its worth and beauty from its application. That which in the Greek poet was an amusement unbecoming a serious man, in the English poet is turned into a lesson of morality. Almost the same things are said, but said differently:

'Braid your locks with rosy twine,
Dropping odours, dropping wine,'

in Comus, cannot offend the gravest philosopher."

In another fragment he gives a comment on one of the finest passages in the Paradise Lost.

"None are so depraved as to be totally insensible to the charms of virtue. The honest stoic satirist Persius gives no less an opinion of his good understanding than of his noble principles, when inventing a punishment for the vilest and most savage of mankind, he says:

'Virtutem videant intabescantque relictâ.'

"Milton has imitated this thought in the character of Satan, and seems to have given an idea equally fine and just of the highest wickedness. After all his bold descriptions of a being tyrannised by pride, hatred, malice, obduracy, and rage, and justifying all his diabolical practices with the subtleties of pretended reason, he represents him as abashed and shrinking before the awful nature of goodness, when rebuked by the angel Zephon:

'Satan saw
Virtue in her own shape, how lovely saw, and pin'd
Her loss.'

"There is certainly something in virtue which answers to what he elsewhere says of chastity, that she is able

'To freeze her foes to congealed stone, and dash
Brute violence with sudden adoration
And blank awe."

The study of Milton and the preparations for an edition of his works, led Mr. Stillingfleet to an imitation of his style; and soon after this period, copying the example of his favourite bard, he addressed to his beloved friends and companions of the common room, a Series of Sonnets. Of these only, that to Mr. Williamson has hitherto been published, from

the communication of the Bishop of Ely to Mr. Todd. I am happy, by the kind communication of Lord Braybrooke, to have an opportunity of giving the whole series of these compositions, which are equally creditable to the head and heart of the author, and to the memory of his friends.

The friendship of Mr. Stillingfleet also dictated a preceptive poem, or Essay on Conversation, to Mr. Windham, who was now entering on the stage of public and active life, with the most promising prospect of attaining a splendid situation in society. It was at first circulated in manuscript, and being much approved, found a place in the collection of poems published by Dodsley, though without the consent of the author. Neither the style nor subjects admit of the higher flights of poetry; but, besides the valuable precepts of which it is the vehicle, and the discernment of human nature which it displays, it contains several beautiful passages. The most striking are the passage in praise of Modesty, and the warm and feeling apostrophic to his young friend in the opening, and at the close, which breathes a spirit of tender and philosophic melancholy *.

A short time afterwards he composed his poem on Earthquakes, at one of the most awful periods in English History, a period well described by a

* See the next part, pp. 11, 34.

contemporary annalist, who, from the unusual force of his colouring appears to have written it under the impulse of the moment*.

The celebrated Sherlock, who was then Bishop of London, did not omit so awful an occasion to press on the public mind a sense of religion, and an abhorrence of vice, which, in the Metropolis in particular, had risen to an enormous height, in his celebrated Pastoral Letter. This admirable piece of religious eloquence affected the devout mind of Mr. Stillingfleet, and produced his Poem on Earthquakes, in which he has interwoven many of the pious sentiments expressed by the Prelate. It is the most finished and spirited of his productions; exhibits a happy imitation of the style and sentiments of Milton, and deservedly ranks him among our English Poets. From its brevity it has not been reprinted since the first publication, and is consequently extremely scarce. After many fruitless researches, the only copy I have been able to discover, is preserved in the British Museum, from which the Poem in this Selection is given.

* See Smollett's History of England, B. 3, c. 1.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Stillingfleet takes up his principal abode at Foxley, the seat of his friend Mr. Price—Declines the office of Tutor to the Son of Mr. Dodd—Letters written to Mr. Aldworth Neville on that subject—Exertions in favour of Mr. Williamson.

IN 1746, Mr. Price married the Honourable Anne Barrington, sister of Lord Barrington; and fixed his residence at the family-seat of Foxley * in Herefordshire. Mr. Stillingfleet was too sincerely attached to

* Foxley came into the possession of the family by the marriage of Robert Price, esq. grandfather of Mr. Stillingfleet's friend, with one of the three co-heiresses, in consequence of which he purchased the shares of the other two sisters, and settled in the mansion. To the short notice given of this illustrious patriot in the second part, p. 161, we may add, that he was descended from a distinguished family in Wales, and born at Giler, in the parish of Cerrig y Druidion, Denbighshire. He died in 1733, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

the most beloved of his friends, not to rejoice at so happy an union; and in his correspondence he dwells on their congeniality of disposition, describes the amiable and domestic qualities of the bride, and prognosticates their subsequent felicity. The new-married couple, both uniting in similar esteem for Mr. Stillingfleet, pressed him to become an inmate of their domestic retreat. As he had no fixed abode, he accepted the offer, as far as his connections with the Windham family and his other friends would permit, and passed great part of his time at Foxley. Still, however, punctilious even in his friendships, he refused to render himself what he called a constant intruder, but took up his residence in a neighbouring cottage, where he was perfectly master of his time and pursuits, and passed his leisure hours with the family.

Delighted with the pleasures of this domestic circle, and happy in blending his studious pursuits with rural occupations, he calmly resigned himself to the current of life, and made no effort for improving his circumstances, nor any attempt to embrace a profession which might change his fortune. From these causes, no less than from a weak state of health, and a dislike of dependence, he declined several advantageous offers to travel with the sons of persons of distinguished families. Among others, Mr. Aldworth Neville, who had been ever most solicitous for his interest, procured him the offer of an

advantageous appointment as tutor to the son of John Dodd, esq.* of Swallowfield in the county of Berks. His reasons for declining this offer are detailed in two letters, which equally display his own character and motives, and his affection for Mr. Williamson, whom he recommended for the situation.

* John Dodd, esq. grandson of Lord Chief Baron Dodd, was born in 1717, and educated at Eton, where he formed a friendship with Mr. Aldworth. He resided at Swallowfield near Reading, and represented that town in several Parliaments. He was born on the same day as Horace Walpole, afterwards third Earl of Orford, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship, though differing from him in every circumstance of character. This contrast is celebrated in an elegant copy of Verses by Sneyd Davies, inserted in Dodsley's Collection, vol. V. p. 105, "On Two Friends born the same Day." Mr. Dodd was extremely attached to the pleasures of the chace, and probably unmerciful to more timid sportsmen, if we may judge from a ludicrous copy of Verses by the same Author, intituled, "A Scene after Hunting at Swallowfield in Berks." The subject is, his compelling Mr. Whaley, one of his companions, to fast for flinching. It is inserted in Nichols's Collection, vol. VI. p. 114. In the same volume also, p. 59, is an encomium on the character of Dr. Dodd by Mr. Whaley himself.

The young man intended as the pupil of Mr. Stillingfleet was born in 1740; and dying in 1782, Swallowfield was afterwards sold.

Mr. Stillingfleet to Richard Neville Aldworth, Esq. at Stanlake near Twyford, Berks.

"DEAR FRIEND, Sept. 1, 1747.

"You still continue to make me quite miserable with temptations, which I am obliged to resist, at the hazard of appearing both obstinate and imprudent; but the truth of the case is, that I could not accept of the very generous offer you make me from Dodd, with a safe conscience. My health is really much more delicate than you can imagine. I left my usual way of living but for about a fortnight, when I went down to Heatly, and I have scarcely yet recovered myself. Besides, I cannot on any conditions think of engaging myself for sixteen years, which is the least I ought to think of, and the very thought would kill me; especially when I add to it, that I could not in honour refuse to go abroad, which nothing would tempt me to do, and which I refused to do lately on my own terms with one of very great family. See how you force me to brag! If I might be allowed to judge, a much properer person than myself might be procured on much easier terms; and I should think Dr. Dampier could procure such an one.

"I sincerely wish Dodd the success he deserves for acting the father in so noble a manner; and I

hope my refusal will create no dislike to me either in you or him. It would hang very heavy on me, who glory in nothing but my friends, if that should be the consequence; though I cannot see why my friends should be angry with me for being so whimsical as even to prefer living in my own way in a thatched house on twenty pounds a year, to being governor to the greatest Prince in Christendom, with the greatest salary.'

"You know not what it is, my dear friend, to have ill health, and therefore I will tell you it is a certain specific for some passions; you know not what it is to be disappointed in every aim in life, which I must tell you is another specific for other passions; and I must tell you besides, when these passions are gone, there is but very little difference between a Prince and a Beggar; not enough, I will assure you, to make one sacrifice the least degree of indolence to a great deal of grandeur. This is one of the mysteries into which we must all be initiated one day or other, as certainly as we come into the world. Mine only is come a little before its usual time; and, if I be found worthy of so early an initiation, I shall take it as a favour from Heaven; if not, I must look on it as a punishment for my sins. Continue to love me, my dearest friend, as I do you; that is most cordially, and with a readiness to overlook

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constitutional defects. Pray make my best compliments to Dodd, not forgetting other friends.

"I am, yours most affectionately,

"BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET."

"DEAR FRIEND, Oct. 19, 1747.

"I RECEIVED yours, and sent the enclosed to Johnny *. I was surprised to see a difference made to my advantage between us, a thing absolutely inconceivable to my understanding; for I cannot flatter myself by any means that there is a foundation for it. But I must hold my tongue on a subject that will betray me into the appearance of a pretended humility, and at the same time make me seem diffident of your judgment, in whose partiality I ought rather to triumph. You may be assured had I thought myself able to discharge the duty in a way worthy of such a reward, I should not have declined it; and the less so, as it would have settled me in your neighbourhood, where I could now and then have talked over old stories of the Common Room, from which I am at present entirely cut off, and likely so to remain; and besides old stories, should have been frequently entertained with those *saillies naïves*, which, it being a Senator has not made you grave, are always flowing in upon you.

* Meaning Mr. Williamson, for whom Mr. Neville warmly interested himself.

"I assure you, dear friend, these are my real thoughts, and I hope you don't doubt of it, though I did not comply with your kind invitations to Stanlake * in the summer, for I am absolutely unfit for company by my bad health; especially when I alter my way of life in the least. The little enjoyment I have of health is owing to the sweat of my brows; no sooner do I leave off working many hours in the day than I relapse again. You thought, no doubt, what I said to you some time ago about my being turned gardener, was all exaggeration; but believe me, it is literally true: that is my employment from morning to night. Now if I am unfit for company even where I should be at liberty if I chose to make use of it, how do you imagine such a person proper to be entrusted with a child, who ought to see nothing but cheerfulness about him, especially in those who are his instructors. If you add to this the badness of my eyes, which I should choose should last out with the rest of my crazy carcase, you will, I hope, readily acquit me of imprudence in this affair, and rather pity than condemn me.

"I thank you for your kind wishes; and the more so, as they shew the high opinion you must have of me; for you know how few are wise enough to wish

* The residence of Mr. Neville before he inherited Billingbear.

for themselves. I am afraid I am not; for I am sometimes exceeding the bounds prescribed by our teachers; however, they pass as dreams, with which I always thought it impertinent to trouble my friends."

The person for whom Mr. Stillingfleet so warmly interested himself in this letter, was his amiable and eccentric friend Williamson, mentioned in the preceding Chapter as one of his associates at Geneva, and to whom he addressed the Sonnet to be found in the next part. After travelling with Lord Haddington and Mr. Baillie, and residing for some time in their family during their abode in the Metropolis, he was by their departure from Scotland left without a home, and thrown on the world with fewer resources, and less knowledge of mankind, than Mr. Stillingfleet. He was not indeed, like our Author, without a profession, for he had entered into the Church, and was an ornament to his calling: but it was rather a detriment than an advantage; for all the interest of his noble friends had not been sufficient to procure him a living, or even a respectable curacy in the Church of England, whilst the obligations of the sacred character precluded him from secular employments. We find from this letter that his friends were desirous to procure for him the situation of Preceptor; but, though his multifarious learning and acquire-

ments well fitted him for the most essential duties of such an undertaking, yet the extreme simplicity of his character, and his total ignorance of life, were equal disqualifications, and proved insuperable bars to the recommendation of his friends. Similar pursuits and character had cemented the friendship of our author for Mr. Williamson, for whom, amidst all his own embarrassments, he felt the deepest sympathy, and made unceasing efforts to obtain some permanent establishment. He failed, indeed, in his friendly endeavours; but he had the satisfaction afterwards to see his valued associate appointed Chaplain to the Factory at Lisbon, through the interest of their common friend Mr. Neville. He always spoke of him in the most ardent terms of attachment; and, among his Memoranda for the History of Husbandry, I find an affectionate tribute to his memory, in which he compares him with Xenophon, the most pleasing of all the Greek Writers.

"Dion Chrysostom * says of Xenophon, 'that he had something of witchcraft in his writings.' I have myself always felt the effects of it in reading them. Other writers, as Plato, have had more imagination, with equal elegance of language. Aristotle was greatly superior to him both in parts and knowledge, and wrote with the utmost purity of style. Demosthenes

* Orat. 8. p. 257.

surpassed all men in the harmony of language, in the sublimity and novelty of his uncommon ideas, and in the force of his reasoning. Yet none of these possessed the power which Chrysostom calls witchcraft!

"Whence comes this? I can account for it no other way than by saying that Xenophon had the gift of writing to the heart beyond these, and, perhaps, all other authors but Homer. His notions are simple, and seem to be the very first conceptions of uncorrupted nature and reason, such as we all in some degree feel in ourselves, and delight to find well represented in others. He never appears to set up for an instructor; but he has the art to make what he says instruct, as it were, without design. He varies his subject in such a manner as not to clog on any occasion, and is perhaps superior even to Demosthenes himself, in placing the parts of his sentences in such a manner as not to neglect harmony, and yet produce uncommon clearness. When he has the air of being negligent, and we expect nothing from him, he throws out something that seizes us the more effectually, the more we are unprepared. His simplicity is at times carried so far, that we almost begin to be in pain for him; but he soon makes us easy: he convinces us that he saw the dignity of truth in a light that had escaped us, and knew that she will bear to be represented, stripped of all charms but what are native.

"In this light does Xenophon appear to me, and if his conduct in life was at all answerable to his writings, I can easily guess what his friends thought of him, having myself had the happiness to be acquainted with one, who was in real life what Xenophon appears to be in his writings. He was not inferior to the Grecian in simplicity, parts, or knowledge, as he might have shewn, had not a general calamity * deprived the world of his ingenious writings. I am certain that all at Lisbon who remember their late Chaplain, will readily own that in these slight touches I have not flattered my amiable friend Mr. Williamson †."

* The Earthquake at Lisbon.

† For a further account of this amiable man, sketched from the life, we refer the Reader to his character by Mr. Neville in Chapter X.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Stillingfleet commences his Botanical studies.—Becomes the advocate and promoter of the Linnæan System.—Progress of Botany, and state of that Science at the time of his first botanical publication.—Account of his Miscellaneous Tracts.

FROM the preceding letter to Mr. Neville, it will appear that an indifferent state of health first led Mr. Stillingfleet to the pursuit of Natural History, which forms his principal distinction as an author. An occasional inflammation of the eyes frequently interrupting his studies, and the state of his health requiring violent exercise, he had recourse to the sports of the field; but these he relinquished for gardening, in which he displayed his characteristic ardour and perseverance, labouring from morning till night, as if his subsistence had depended on his bodily exertions. This occupation naturally led a man of so inquisitive and contemplative a turn to

the examination of plants. From the Bishop of Durham*, who at an early period of life frequently accompanied him in his excursions, I learn, that in the commencement of his botanical studies, he had recourse to Gerarde's Herbal, Parkinson, and Ray; and his knowledge of the learned languages enabled him also to consult Theophrastus and Dioscorides. But he was afterwards led to the study of the more perfect, simple, and comprehensive system, which was about this time promulgated by Linnæus †. He soon became a master and zealous partizan of the new method, and was called by the opponents which it found in England, as well as in other parts, one of the body-guards of Linnæus.

As the principal merit of a discovery or improvement in science is justly attributed to him by whom it was first introduced, great praise is due to Mr. Stillingfleet, for being among the first defenders and earliest propagators of the Linnæan system in England. As this mode of arrangement has rendered all former theories obsolete, it will scarcely be deemed superfluous to present to the reader a

* The Honourable and Right Reverend Dr. Barrington.

† At what period, or by what means, Mr. Stillingfleet became acquainted with the Linnæan system, I cannot ascertain; but it must have been between 1750 and 1755, and probably from his connection with Mr. Marsham, who was attached to the study of Natural History.

brief sketch of the state of Botany in England at the time of Mr. Stillingfleet's publication, as the means of forming a proper estimate of his services to that delightful and useful science.

Our author has thus briefly traced the peculiarities of each of the botanical systems which had been successively in vogue: "Theophrastus sketched the classes of plants, and had a glimmering of the genera; Gesner and Cæsalpinus established the genera, and had a glimmering of the species; Tournefort, Ray, and Morison, established the species by the fruit; Tournefort added the flowers; Boerhaave the stamina; Linnæus took in the style. Among them all plants are ranged according to the characters taken from all the parts*."

In all his works, both printed and manuscript, Mr. Stillingfleet shews great veneration for Theophrastus, who has been justly styled the father of Botany; because he gave the first view of the vegetable, as his master, Aristotle, had done of the animal kingdom. His works, though in many respects short and imperfect, display the hand of a master; and he has given an account of no less than 400 plants†. But from his time, even till the revival

* MS collections relating to the history of Husbandry.

† See Mr. Stillingfleet's remarks on Theophrastus, in the second part, p. 539.

of learning, the spirit of arrangement was lost, and the inquiries of those who termed themselves Naturalists, were chiefly confined to the common and obvious qualities of plants, as food and medicine, without any idea of arranging them according to such a system as might afford a ready and correct reference. Such was the state in which Botany was found by Conrad Gesner and Cæsalpinus. The first, the greatest naturalist since the time of Aristotle and Theophrastus, was sensible of the confusion into which the science had fallen; and contributed to restore it to the dignity of philosophy, by suggesting the outline of a methodical arrangement of plants in classes and orders, according to the diversities in the structure of the flower.

Cæsalpinus, whom our author styles "the great and first systematic Botanist among the moderns," reduced into some degree of consistency, the method which had been only sketched by Gesner, by a systematic distribution of eight hundred plants, into classes, according to distinctions derived from the seed and seed-vessel. Among other improvements, he gave the first idea of the beautiful arrangement of natural orders, namely, the grasses in his fourth book, the umbelled plants in the seventh, the bulbs in the tenth, the asperifoliæ and verticillatæ in the eleventh, the compositæ in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth, and the cryptogamiæ in the last.

Numerous Herbals and other descriptions of plants were published in the Sixteenth Century, in different countries of Europe; but without adding much improvement to the labours of this great master; and the first progressive traces of scientific arrangement are found in the works of Colonna, who gave plates of plants, drawn and engraved by himself, and in the opinion of a competent judge*, of "unrivalled accuracy." Besides these engravings, which contributed to extend the knowledge of plants, he suggested the distinction of genera from similarities in the flower and fruit, and invented several of the terms still used.

The science of Botany, however, made no farther progress, till towards the latter part of the Seventeenth Century. At that time Morison gave an example of arrangement, founded on the fruit and external habit of plants; but his method, which from these circumstances was uncertain and defective, was superseded by those of the three great systematists Ray, Rivinus, and Tournefort.

The method of Ray, the best arrangement before that of Linnæus, was chiefly founded on the fruit and habit of plants, and became the guide of English Botanists †. Rivinus of Leipsic, who first took the

* Dr. Smith.

† "The Synopsis of Ray, having been written from real observation, and from absolute scrutiny, of almost every British

flower as the basis of the classical character, and drew his distinctions from the number and situation of the petals, was chiefly followed by the Germans. The French naturalist, Tournefort, soon afterwards brought forward his beautiful arrangement under natural orders. He distinguished trees from herbs, and selected, as the characters of classification, the corolla and the situation of the fruit; but his chief merit consists in having discriminated six hundred and thirty genera, from actual observation.

Besides these three chiefs, who each had his numerous partisans, other methods, more or less derived from their respective systems, were brought forward in different countries, of which, the best are those of Herman, Boerhaave, and Magnol *.

From this diversity of systems, the science was rendered a mass of confusion; the best was compli-

plant, is the foundation of our knowledge on this subject. He examined every plant recorded in his work, and even gathered most of them. He investigated their synonyms with consummate accuracy, and if the clearness and precision of other authors had equalled his own, he would scarcely have committed an error. In tracing the Botanical History of British Plants, I consider Ray as the fountain-head of authority."

Smith's Observations on the British Species of Bromus, Linnæan Trans. vol. IV. p. 277.

* Speaking of these systems, Dr. Smith observes, "Herman's was one of the best; it was entirely founded on the fruit, and not very different from those of Ray and Morison. Boerhaave's

cated, affording by no means a ready mode of reference, and as difficult to remember as to comprehend; and to understand all, or even a part, like the written language of China, required almost the labour of a whole life, and a degree of patience which few possess.

The uncertainty naturally derived from such numerous, vague, and discordant modes of classification, and the want of a common language and individual distinctions of the species, were at length obviated by Linnæus, who invented the simple and universal method called the Sexual system. This system, which has now triumphed over all opposition, is too generally diffused to need a description. The fundamental principle, namely, the different sexes of plants *, had been long known, though imperfectly; but Linnæus was the first who made it a

has great merit, being founded, more or less, on all the parts of fructification; that of Magnol, Professor at Montpelier, was founded on the Calyx, to which Linnæus himself was very partial, and from which he even formed a similar method of classification." Smith's Tracts, p. 97.

* Since the time of Stillingfleet, the doctrine of the sexes in plants has been amply confirmed, not only in regard to those in which the parts of fructification are obvious, but, by the successful investigation of the celebrated Hedwig, has been extended even to those tribes which were formerly termed imperfect. He discovered the parts of fructification in mosses; and my friend

primary distinction. He seems to have conceived his plan at an early period of his life; but he did not publish the outlines till 1735, in his Systema Naturæ. He unfolded and reduced it to application in his Critica Botanica, Genera Plantarum, Flora Laponica, Methodus Sexualis, and Hortus Cliffortiensis, five works, which, though published in the same year, 1737, were each sufficient to have immortalised the author. But he did not complete his system till 1754, when he gave to the world the trivial and specific denominations, in the Species Plantarum*.

Mr. Stackhouse has recently observed them in the fuci, or seaweeds; as may be seen in his splendid and ingenious work, the Nereis Britannica. But hitherto no one has detected them in lichens, ferns, and fungi, though the seeds and seed vessels undoubtedly prove their existence.

* Without the Species Plantarum the system of Linnæus would have been very incomplete, and never have been generally received. "I shall only observe," says Dr. Smith, "that the introduction of trivial names which took place in the Species Plantarum was one of his most happy inventions, and has contributed more than any thing to make his works of general use." On this subject Linnæus himself observes, "Trivial names had never been heard of before; affixing them to all vegetables, was like putting a clapper to a bell; Botany acquired new life. Names could not only be easily remembered, but also spoken and written with ease; whereas, before it was necessary to have recourse to definitions. Hence Botany acquired an entirely new and natural form."

It is no wonder that a system invented in an obscure part of the North, and by an unpatronised individual, a system which subverted all preceding methods, and introduced a new arrangement, and a new vocabulary into Botany, should, notwithstanding its merits, have experienced great opposition from the veterans of science; or that it should have been scarcely known in England, for a considerable time after its first promulgation.

Dr. Martyn, in his Virgil, published in 1740, merely referred to the writings of Linnæus; and Dillenius, Professor of Botany at Oxford, though he adhered to Ray and Tournefort, first exhibited the specific characters of the Swedish botanist to a British Public, in his Historia Muscorum, printed in 1741.

A more particular detail of the plan was partially made known in 1754, when Groofberg, a pupil of the Upsal school, transmitted to the Royal Society an arrangement of the plants in Ray's Synopsis, digested according to the Linnæan System. About the same time, Linnæus having completed his plan by the publication of the Species Plantarum, which converted many of his first opponents, Sir William Watson gave a brief account of this curious work in the Gentleman's Magazine, though within the scanty compass of three or four pages.

Dr. Browne, in his History of Jamaica, published in 1756, was the first English Botanist who adopted the Linnæan arrangement, by classing the plants of that Island, amounting to 1200 species, according to the new method, and illustrating his descriptions by separate figures of the flower and fruit*.

Such was the scanty and imperfect knowledge of the Linnæan Botany in England, when Mr. Stillingfleet, in 1759, gave the first fundamental treatise on the principles of the great naturalist, in his preface to Miscellaneous Tracts on Natural History, which is reprinted in this selection. It contains a spirited eulogium of the study of Nature, and a just tribute of applause to the talents and discoveries of the great Swede.

The work itself contains translations of various tracts from the writings of Linnæus and his pupils, read as Theses in the University of Upsal, which were at once calculated to develope his principles, and to point out new ways for the improvement of natural history.

The first is the Oration on the Benefit of Travelling in our Native Country, delivered by Linnæus when he was appointed Professor of Physic in 1741. In this oration the learned Professor traces the ge-

* Pulteney's Life of Linnæus, and Account of English Botanists.

neral benefits of travelling, more particularly to the Physician and Naturalist. He reprobates the custom of early travelling, and urges the necessity of laying a previous foundation at the University, without which preparation every thing appears trite and uninteresting. He gives just and sensible rules in regard to the pursuit of knowledge, and the method of observation. He adds, that by knowledge thus acquired at home, we can alone be qualified to improve our own customs by those of other nations, and to render ourselves useful to our country. He gives a rapid though modest sketch of his own studies, labours, and travels; and after tracing the benefits which he had derived from them, he bursts into an animated tribute of gratitude to the divine Being, which we here quote as a testimony of his piety and zeal.

"First to thee, Oh omnipotent God, I humbly offer up my thanksgiving for the immense benefits that have been heaped upon me through thy gracious protection and providence. Thou from my youth upwards hast so led me by the hand, hast so directed my footsteps, that I have grown up in the simplicity and innocence of life, and in the most ardent pursuit after knowledge. I give thee thanks that thou hast ever preserved me in all my journeys through my native and foreign countries, amidst so many dangers that surrounded me on every side; that in the rest

of my life, amidst the heaviest burdens of poverty, and other inconveniences, thou wast always present to support me with thy Almighty assistance: lastly, that amidst so many vicissitudes of fortune to which I have been exposed, amongst all the goods and evils, the joyful and gloomy, the pleasing and disagreeable circumstances of life, thou endowest me with an equal, constant, manly, and superior spirit on every occasion."

The second Treatise is an interesting disquisition on the œconomy of Nature by Isaac Biberg, tracing the means of propagation, preservation, and destruction, which may be observed throughout the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. At the close of this thesis Mr. Stillingfleet makes some pious remarks, concluded with a poetical effusion on the wonders of the Creation, which we have reprinted.

The third is a Tract on the Foliation of Trees, which we have given as a proper Introduction to the Calendars of Flora.

The fourth is a Treatise on the Use of Curiosity by Christopher Gedner. It is intended to excite and encourage the most minute researches into the secrets of Nature, by pointing out some circumstances, which, though apparently insignificant, are productive of the most important benefits, and shewing, that throughout the whole œconomy of Nature, no creature or inanimate substance is unnecessary; but that

all, however noxious or inconsiderable, are productive of important advantages, either immediate or remote.

The fifth is a sensible Treatise on the obstacles to the improvement of Physic.

The sixth, intituled the Swedish Pan, was written by Nicholas Hasselgreen in 1745, and treats on different plants as the proper nutriment of different animals. As this tract throws much light on a subject so interesting to the Agriculturist, we have thought it a proper introduction to the Observations on Grasses.

The work was closed by a Treatise written by Mr. Stillingfleet himself on the English Grasses, in which he reprobates the slovenly mode adopted in that branch of husbandry, and points out the properest species for the improvement of the turf, and the nourishment of cattle. The subject is treated in a methodical and judicious manner; and to Mr. Stillingfleet the British Public is indebted for the introduction of most of the trivial names now in use, and the principal part of that knowledge which has been acquired of this valuable species of plants.

In the second edition of these Miscellaneous Tracts, which Mr. Stillingfleet published in 1762, the Observations on Grasses were accompanied by Plates of the different species recommended by the Author, most of them well drawn from nature

by his lamented and excellent friend Mr. Price, of Foxley. The piece was also improved with considerable additions. This tract is reprinted in the present edition, with augmentations from the manuscript collections of the Author, and remarks by some of my Botanical friends, and particularly with an additional Treatise by Professor Martyn. It is illustrated with a new series of Engravings by the masterly hand of Mr. Sowerby, instead of the original Plates, which were rather intended for the ordinary observer than the Botanist.

On the subject of this Treatise on Grasses, Mr. Curtis sensibly remarks: "Mr. Stillingfleet was not one of those speculators who promulgate precepts, which they do not practise, and lay down rules which they do not follow. From his own manuscripts and writings, I find that he not only gave to the publick his Observations on Grasses, and recommended his friends to pursue his rules, but himself employed his scanty means to reduce his theory to practice, by laying down lands, and selecting seeds. An instance of this kind is recorded by Kent in his 'Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property.' 'Meadow and pasture land is oftener neglected than ploughed ground, notwithstanding it generally admits of a greater proportion of improvement. The best grasses cannot be collected at too great an expence; for I have seen a small spot of land in the middle of a large piece, which was laid

down twelve or fourteen years since by Mr. Stillingfleet, on the estate of Mr. Price of Foxley, in Herefordshire, with choice seeds, at the same time when the remainder of the field was laid down with common seeds; and this spot is considerably better than the rest: it not only appeared so to my judgment, but was allowed to be so by Mr. Price's bailiff, who was well acquainted with its produce. From Mr. Stillingfleet's experiments, and my own observations, I am clearly of opinion that any person who has cultivated land for grass, may improve it by this method of laying it down, to a much greater degree than he can in the common way *."

In the second edition of the Miscellaneous Tracts were also inserted three Calendars of Flora; one by Berger for Sweden; a second for England, compiled by Mr. Stillingfleet himself at Stratton in Norfolk, the seat of his friend Mr. Marsham; and the third for Greece, extracted from the History of Plants by Theophrastus. These Calendars were intended to exhibit the progress of the Seasons in different climates, from the flowering and leafing of plants, the periodical migrations of birds, and other natural occurrences. From hence it was intended to form a collection of facts, in order to ascertain some fixed laws of Nature, by the observance of which the sowing of grain, and many other operations of rural œconomy

* Curtis's Observations on Grasses, p. 2.

dependant on the Seasons, might be better regulated than by the ordinary rules and customs. We insert these Calendars, together with the sensible Preface and Introduction, as a proper accompaniment to Mr. Stillingfleet's Tracts on Husbandry.

From the preceding detail of this interesting work, the Reader will perceive that the views of the intelligent Author were not confined to the mere gratification of curiosity, or speculative amusement, but to point out the proper pursuits of science, and to render its theories and discoveries useful to mankind.

The publication of the first edition of this Miscellany may be considered as the æra of the establishment of Linnæan Botany in England. In the following year, Dr. Solander, the favourite pupil of Linnæus, took up his residence in this country, and contributed to diffuse the principles of his master. From his acquaintance Mr. Stillingfleet greatly enlarged his botanical knowledge, and increased his veneration for Linnæus. Lee published also a translation of the Philosophia Botanica, under the name of an Introduction to Botany. Hill's Flora Anglica next appeared; Hudson's Flora Britannica followed in 1762; and about the same period the Sexual System was publicly taught by Professor Martyn at Cambridge, and Dr. Hope at Edinburgh. Dr. Withering made considerable improvements in the generic and specific names of British plants in his Botanical Arrangements;

and the system of correct nomenclature has received farther amendments from the labours of Professor Martyn, who in his admirable edition of Miller's Gardener's Dictionary has comprised all the additions to our botanical knowledge since the time of the laborious and intelligent author. Lastly, Dr. Smith, President of the Linnæan Society, and possessor of the Linnæan Collections, has much corrected the generic and and specific characters, added new genera and species, and has made considerable improvements in the science, in his accurate Flora Britannica, and many other works.

CHAPTER IX.

Excursion from Foxley into part of North Wales—Knighton—Newton—Kemmes—Dolgelly—Hengwrt—Barmouth—Tan y Bwlch—Haerlech—Pont aber glas lyn—Festiniog—Lanrwst—Denbigh—Ruthin—Bala—Montgomery.

MR. Stillingfleet diversified the domestic pleasures which he enjoyed at Foxley with occasional excursions into the neighbouring country, in company with Mr. Price, as the means of gratifying their respective tastes for picturesque scenery and botanical pursuits. An account of one of these excursions yet remains under the title of a "Journal of what I saw in Wales 1759." This Journal would not have deserved a separate publication; but may find a place in these pages as illustrative of his character and observations, and is curious as one of the first local Tours which are since become so fashionable.

JOURNAL OF WHAT I SAW IN WALES, 1759.

Friday, August 10, 1759. Set out for Wales from Foxley. Passed through Pembridge and Presteign, and dined at Knighton, in Radnorshire. Found an uncommon grass on the Heath, near Knighton; (Gramen spicatum spicâ unam partem spectante). Lay at Newton, Montgomeryshire, on Severn; where Mr. Price, son to Sir John Price has a house and park, by the edge of which runs the river, the bank fine. The grass in the park chiefly the agrostis and crested; some of the soft. A white-thorn there, whose branches extend, by accurate measurement, fifty feet two ways, almost perpendicular.

Saturday, 11. Dined at Newton; went to see a Cataract near that place, going off from the Llandrinden road, at about a mile from Newton. This cataract is formed by a brook which falls about fifty feet from ground that hangs over the perpendicular among trees and shrubs; there is a bason at the bottom, and close by it a natural cavern, large enough to hold a dozen people, and about eight feet high. This cataract is not seen till you come

very near, being in a winding vale, called Graig cwm pistil, which signifies Rock-dingle waterfall. Lay at Newton.

Sunday, 12. Set out for Dolgelly; went four or five miles at no great distance from the Severn. The country very pleasant, being broken by small hills, covered with woods, and farm-houses here and there. A mixture of arable and pasture land. At Llanvenoe the country more open, and barren. On a marsh thereabout, met with a rare plant. The grass very indifferent all the way, chiefly such as I found near Newton. We set out at half past four, and at ten reached Kemmes, a village that lies on the river Dovy, which winds through a vale bounded by high barren hills. On the road I saw a spot where, we were told, a city once stood, called Caer Swth*; destroyed by a plague. Coins are often found here; but whether Roman or English, I was not told. About 11, came to Dinas Mwthy, a poor wretched village, standing on the Dovy, and once a city. We had a view of Cader Idris before we came to Kemmes. I saw no kind of trefoil, but the lotus, since I left Foxley, only here and there a few plants of the Suffolk grass, nor any other kind but the crested, the agrostis, the soft and the tall kind, with plain rough leaves.

* Caer Sws, a Roman Station on the Severn, to the West of Newton.

About three miles from Dinas Mwthy, the river Dovy falls down a hill, and forms a fine cataract.

At Dinas Mwthy, two boys climbed up a prodigious steep hill for our diversion, and seemed to do it with ease. After dinner we set out for Dolgelly, went through a valley surrounded by vast barren hills, and in our road passed over some high ground which would be called mountainous in other parts, particularly at the place called Bwlch yr Drwyg, that is, the Cold Door, being reckoned the coldest place in all North Wales. We descended for a great way to Dolgelly, down a bad road of loose stones. The town * stands in the bottom of a vale, near Cader Idris, is ill-built, of small stone houses,

* The description of Mr. Wyndham is peculiarly characteristic: "The wretched town of Dolgelly is finely situated upon the Avon's brink; the valleys around are richly interspersed with woods and decent houses, while the mountains bound every prospect at irregular distances.

"We entered among the miserable hovels of the town, under a boarded channel, which serves as an aqueduct to a mill, and from which the water is constantly dripping upon the passenger's head. This uncommon entrance, the lofty rocks environing the town, and the number of ale-sellers in it, excited the ludicrous fancy of an author, some years since, to describe it in the following whimsical manner:

"Dolgelly is fortified with walls six miles high. We came to it under water, and out of it over water (over a bridge *more Anglicano*). There are more ale-houses than houses in it, for

on the North runs a considerable stream, which has the appearance of a torrent, and actually at times overflows a meadow lying between the river and town, and sometimes the extreme houses. This meadow is about half a mile long, and five hundred yards broad, of very thick fine grass, and perfectly level, with a stone bridge, of five arches, at the East end. North of the river are small hills in tillage and pasture, with woods and farm houses scattered here and there; South of the town, the hills are very high and barren. On the South East is Cader Idris, but the rising parts adjoining to the town are cultivated. The vale is about a quarter of a mile wide, and stretches some way above the town. Here is a forge near the town, and the tide comes within a mile. A coarse white cloth is made here, and goat-skin gloves, both tanned and white.

Monday, 13. Dined at Dolgelly about one, and went about two with Mr. Price and Mr. Nanney, a neighbouring gentleman, and a guide,

every house was subdivided into sundry little tenements, each of which sold drink apart." Wyndham's Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales, p. 106.

The beautiful scenery about Dolgelly has called forth the praise of all our Tourists.

"Sir Richard Hoare in his notes on Giraldus says: "Here we must halt for a few days; for I know of no place in the principality, from whence so many pleasing and interesting excursions may be made; and where nature bears so rich, so varied, and so grand an aspect." vol. II. p. 385.

up Cader Idris, on horseback. The road is very rough, with loose stones, and so steep in some parts that we walked to ease our horses. After going up a pretty high hill, we came to a lake and a valley cultivated and inhabited. The highest point is called the Chair of Idris the giant, where some stones are laid in the form of a wall. From here we saw the sea, the Caernarvonshire coast, the Isle of Bardsey, Penyard, the house of Mr. Williams, Snowdon, Arran Mowddy, a very high mountain, Plinlimmon, the Wrekin, the lake of Bala. Many other lakes may be seen on different parts of Cader Idris, that lie in vales of different heights before you come to the top. These vales are cultivated and inhabited. They are at different stages as it were, the lowest of which is the vale of Dolgelly. I found no extraordinary plants on this mountain, but the berry-bearing heath, the proliferous festuca ovina, and some mosses. There is a good deal of that coarse grass which I found at Newton. Sheep and goats pasture here. By the level, this mountain seemed to be about the height of Snowdon.

Tuesday, 14. Breakfasted with Mr. Nanney*, who lives within about half a mile of Dolgelly, at a

* Mr. Pennant mentions this house, and says that in his time it belonged to the Vaughans, and was, perhaps the highest situation of any gentleman's house in Britain.

house called Llwyn, standing on the South of the river on a rising ground, with very fine meadows. We rode out with him on a road where we overlooked the vale, to an iron work now just going to be set up. The meadows continue on a level near as low as that place, and on each side are woods, arable, and tillage. The tide reaches within about a mile of the town, and by the help of an intended road, they will be able to carry on a considerable trade of the Welsh web, which they make here. We dined also with Mr. Nanney, along with Mr. Williams of Penywd and two daughters, Mr. Vaughan of Hengwert*, Mr. Owen, and others; and were agreeably entertained. There was a Welsh harp.

Wednesday, 15. Breakfasted with Mr. Meyrick†, at Dolgelly, walked with Mr. Nanney to Mr. Vaughan's of Hengwert; after proceeding about a mile from Dolgelly, the valley grows narrow, and continues so for a little way, then opens into a wide plain, consisting of fine meadows, through which runs another river. The hills all along are very high and naked. Near Mr. Vaughan's, stands an

* Probably the same Gentleman whose politeness Mr. Wyndham acknowledges in his Tour, p. 108.

† A celebrated antiquary, author of a scarce Tract, *British Antiquities revived.*

old abbey called Cunmer*, built about 1200. Dined and lay at Hengwert. The chickens the finest I ever tasted, fatted with grouts, or oatmeal. I saw in his garden, slips of the spruce fir, put in the ground in April, and which had shot. He assured me that he knew pine trees raised that way. He told me as a thing certain, that along the roads, when the weather is dry, water is seen, which disappears when it rains or is going to rain.

Thursday, 16. Lay at Hengwert, went to Barmouth, a village lying on the sea side, where Mr. Vaughan has a house. The village is built on the side of a very steep hill, near half way up. The Dolgelly river runs into the sea here. From hence, in a clear day, may be seen the Caernarvon coast, that of Cardigan, the Isle of Bardsey, &c. The road very pleasant along the side of the hills; the river almost always in sight, but very narrow, and close by the edge of steep precipices.

Friday, 17. Lay at Hengwert. Set out after breakfast, for Tan y bwlch. Went by a very pleasant road along the side of hills, with a river in view for some miles; came to a cataract called Gwyn vynnedd, one of the finest I ever saw. The quan-

* See Hoare's Giraldus Cambrensis, in which is an account of this antiquity, under the more correct name of Kemmer Abbey, v. II. p. 385. See Pennant, v. II. p. 107.

tity of water is very considerable; falls about 30 or 40 feet into a large bason, and then pours down a deep bed of broken rocks. One side of the rock close by it nearly perpendicular, and very high, almost covered with shrubs and trees; farther down, and adjoining to it, is a very large wood. On the side of a hill still higher, about 100 yards distant, is another cataract that falls into a bed of stone near 30 feet deep, as I guessed by a bridge of trees thrown over one of the branches through which it passes. This is also surrounded with trees and shrubs*. From thence we went to Mr. Gurnon's at a place called Rhiwgoch†, where we dined. The country is very indifferent, being a wide vale of bad land, full of bogs, surrounded by naked hills. From here towards Tan y bwlch‡, for some miles it continues disagreeable, till we get a sight of the hills about Tan y bwlch, which, being very uneven, and many small, and backed by very high ones, afford a prospect that is singular and pleasing. Tan y

* This appears to be the Cascade described by Mr. Wyndham under the name of Dolymyllin, p. 113.

† Mr. Pennant likewise speaks of the hospitable mansion of Rhiwgoch, but the Mr. Gurnon mentioned here was then dead, v. II. p. 107.

‡ Tan y bwlch is become a centrical station for the numerous travellers into this part of Wales, and the Inn, though small, is rendered very comfortable.

bwlch is situated in the bottom near a river called Draeth buchan, pretty large, and having the advantage of the tide. I forgot to mention that through Merionethshire we continually meet with small rivulets that come down the sides of the hills. I found in many places on the hills about Rhiwgoch, the Llaneris grass, and on the road I saw a man thatching a hay-rick with it; for which it seems very proper, being long and thick, like a small reed. I found also that worse kind, which I saw about Newtown, and in some places there was much of the Agrostis, and some of the Vernal in the driest spots.

They make bread for the farm servants of barley and rye, which tastes very well, but is black and heavy.

Saturday, 18. Lay at Tan y bwlch. Some of the hills about it covered with wood to the top. Down one of these runs a cataract amidst fine rocks, and a bridge over it, within a quarter of a mile from the town. Dined at Tan y bwlch; went to see a cataract called Llan rhaidr dû*, very fine, accompanied with wood. It is about two miles from Tan y bwlch, leaving the road to Caernarvon on the right, where there is a bridge. The road to this place is on the side of a hill, very high, and steep, commanding a full view of the valley through which

* The Rhaidr dû, or Black Cataract, mentioned by Mr. Wyndham, in his Tour, p. 116; by Pennant, v. II. p. 109.

runs the river. On the opposite side stands the house of Mrs. Griffith, a widow lady of considerable fortune, towards the summit of the hill surrounded with a fine wood. I imagine this vale, which is about a quarter of a mile over, and some miles long perfectly level, and very green, and along which the sea may be seen from Festiniog, is what Lord Lyttelton calls the vale of Festiniog. This level is not so good as it appears, being marshy, coarse ground.

Sunday, 19. Lay at Tan y bwlch. Went to Harlech castle*, which stands on a very steep and high rock, within view of the sea. It is a fine old building, and seems to have contained very grand apartments. A stream runs down the rock close by the castle. The extent of the front, with the two towers at the end, is at least 160 feet. We dined here on provisions carried from Tan y bwlch; for, though this be the county town, it is a miserable poor place, consisting of a few cottages, and not able to entertain strangers. The view from the town is fine; as the whole bay is surrounded with mountains; on one side those of Caernarvonshire, and among the rest, Snowdon. We went on the left of the river, partly over small hills, partly over sands, passable

* For an account of Haerlech Castle, which is supposed to have been built by Edward I., see Wyndham's Tour, pp. 116, 121; Pennant, v. II. p. 130; and Hoare's Giraldus, v. II. pp. 85, 306.

only when the tide is out. We returned on the other bank by a very pleasant good road, lying in a cultivated country, surrounded with barren high hills. We passed by a house belonging to Mr. Owen, of Porkington, Shropshire; near which is a fine small cataract, not far from the sands, and by that of Mr. Wynne, lying somewhat higher up the hill. We also passed by a large pool called Llyn degwyn ucha; that is, the Upper lake Degwyn, in the midst of woods. At last we came in sight of the vale of Tan y bwlch, which stretches on the side of a high hill.

All along the flat, where the sea runs in high tides, the ground is covered with thrift, the leaves of which are grassy. Here great numbers of sheep feed, and it is said the mutton from hence is the best we have. The same thing was told me at Chester, where I observed the ground, which was overflowed by the sea at certain times, covered with thrift, and fed with sheep.

This day Mrs. Griffith sent a very polite message to us, letting us know that if we chose to take the diversion of angling, she would accommodate us with every thing necessary. Mr. Morris also, parson of the parish, offered his service to attend and shew us the country. He sent us a present of a couple of the red game. The Cornish Chough at Harlech, and also at Barmouth.

There is a kind of reddish slaty stone, all over Merionethshire; some of which laid in the walls of houses, I have measured 16 feet in length, about a foot broad, and three or four inches thick: near Tan y bwlch, I saw a fence made of them fixed endways; some of them were about five feet above ground, three or four feet broad, and an inch or two thick, as well as I could guess by my eye. I was told some of these stones used in building are eight yards long. The Welsh seem to exert very little care in building. It is common to see small stones towards the bottom and enormous large ones higher up, laid without any choice, just as they come to hand.

Monday, 20. Lay at Tan y bwlch. The weather being very bad, did not stir out before dinner. Drank tea with Mrs. Griffith. Her house faces the South, and overlooks the vale; it is properly called Tan y bwlch, the name of the village is Maentrwg, and it belongs to the parish of Festiniog. She told us that they have what they call a turf-harvest, which begins in the month of May, and, if the weather is good, lasts about three weeks or a month; for the turf requires a long time to dry, and cannot be cut at any other season, except the Summer, so as to be fit for use.

Tuesday, 21. Lay at Tan y bwlch. Went in company with Mr. Garnon to Pont aber glas

Llyn*, about five miles of the road over high barren rocks; then came to a large valley, about three quarters of a mile over, between very high and steep rocks, through which runs a pretty large river called Traeth mawr. The tide comes up this river, and spring tides cover the whole valley. The parts where common tides do not reach are fed with sheep. I could find scarce any plant growing there but thrift, (Statice R. 203). The prospect all along the sands is very singular and striking, by reason of the high hills, particularly Snowdon, which is seen here to great advantage; the river, and pretty high rocky islands standing up here and there. At the end of this valley we had a view of the cataract of Pont aber glas Llyn, through a high bridge which crosses the neck of the vale. The fall is about eight feet, by a measure I took†. Up this, the salmon-leap, we saw many attempt it, but a net being placed at the spot they chiefly attempt, not one of them succeeded, though some of them rose higher than was necessary.

Above the bridge the view is very singular, the river being very much confined by hills, on one side very high, barren, and almost perpendicular; on the other,

* See a fine view of Pont aber glas Llyn, and another from the bridge, which conveys a striking idea of the stupendous scenery, in Mr. Wyndham's Tour, frontispiece, and p. 125.

† This is the Salmon-leap described by Mr. Wyndham, p. 126.

pretty high and green; along which runs the road to Caernarvon; being rough, narrow, and paved in the Welsh manner. I forgot to mention that in our way over the sands we went for some time on a bank raised as a fence against the sea, by Mr. Gwyn, of Wern. This bank is about three miles long, between nine and ten feet high, and as I guess, fifteen at the bottom: it is laid sloping both ways. The top is just wide enough for a horse to pass conveniently; the sides perfectly green, being covered with good grass, though it has not been made above two years. In our return from Pont aber glas Llyn, we went to see a road which the same Mr. Gwyn has made on the side of a hill, to a spot where once stood a good house, but now in ruins. This road is near half a mile long, and twenty-five feet broad; in some parts, the rock is cut on one side twenty or thirty feet; all along runs a fine stream, over rough stones, and sometimes falls in cascades. We were told he intends to build a house on the top of the hill, to which this road leads, on a high steep point that overlooks Traeth mawr. At about four miles from Tan y bwlch we stopped at the house of our guide, Richard Lloyd, who lives at Caynent, in the parish of Llanwrthen. At a little distance below, there is a fine view of a pretty stream, with a small bridge, two or three buildings, and in the back, high hills, covered to the top with wood.

Wednesday, 22. Lay at Tan y bwlch. On farther enquiry, I find that part of the vale on the North of the river is in the parish of Festiniog, so that it may properly be called the Vale of Festiniog*. Found the seeds of the Dog violet ripe, those of the Sanicle, and those of the Enchanter's Night-shade, almost ripe, but in a place where the sun never comes.

Thursday, 23. Lay at Tan y bwlch. Went after breakfast to Festiniog, three miles off. We traversed a very pleasant road, by the North side of the river, with pretty good meadows and ploughed grounds on the right, and high hills on the left; some of them covered with wood; and saw two water-falls in the way. When we came to the end of the valley, which was about a small mile and half from our inn, the river winds a little to the North, through a short valley, over which is a pretty large bridge. From the South falls another river called Cynfael, into the larger river, over which there is a bridge likewise of one arch, at about an hundred yards distant from the great one. From hence we ascended the hill, on the top of which Festiniog stands. The view is very singular. Very high mountains, (among which Moelwyn vach and Moelwyn mawr seem nearly as high as Snowdon, when

* See a description and view of this beautiful Vale, in Mr. Wyndham's Tour, p. 122.

seen along with it) make a semicircle on one side, under which are many lower hills, barren, detached, and irregularly situated. Within these are highish hills covered with woods, and varied with pasture and tillage grounds. If you look forward, leaving this semicircle on the right, you have a full view down the vale; at the Southern end of which you see the sea, and the hills of Caernarvonshire. Though I said that Festiniog stood on the top of a hill, yet the mountains about at a distance are so much higher, that it may be said to stand in a vale, along which you see pasture, tillage, and meadow ground. Before dinner we went to see some cataracts of the river Cynfael *, the first of which, about three quarters of a mile from the village, runs between hills so very steep that it is impossible to get down to it; so we saw it only from a high bank. The appearance of it is very singular; for, after falling down between vast rocks, it seems to lose itself under ground for some way, the rocks being so narrow and winding that we could not see the passage. However we got down just above the fall, where the effect was very great. Not far above this, about 100 yards, there is another fall. Just below stands a detached rock above the level of the river, and 8 or 10 feet square, round which the river divides soon after the fall;

* Mentioned by Pennant, vol. II. p. 138.

over this it has been known to flow. From hence we went to another waterfall about half a mile higher up, called Llan y rafdd, which from the quantity of water, and other circumstances, as trees, broken rocks, woods, &c. is one of the finest I have seen. A little above this cataract the rocks come so near each other, that it is easy to step over from one side to the other. Our landlord told us, he had done so several times while a boy. After dinner we went to see Mr. Morris, parson of Festiniog, who received us very politely.

Friday, 24. Lay at Festiniog; found the Orobus R. 324. Mr. Morris told me it grows in great plenty all about the fields; and that the cattle are fond of it when young. On the North side of the village, about a mile distant, is a small cataract. Standing on the North-east part of the town the prospect is extremely fine; having the vale on the left, the semicircular high hills right before; the rising ground in the middle, on each side of which there is a steep narrow dingle covered with trees; here and there woods, and small hills mixed with pasture and tillage, and a few houses; at the same time one hears waterfalls not far off, and sees others at a distance.

After dinner at Festiniog, where Mr. Barrington* met us, we took a walk along the dingle nearest the

* Mr. Daines Barrington, the celebrated Antiquary.

town, where runs a torrent called Teigil, through a bed of very large stones, and is almost a continual cascade. This dingle is narrow, and edged on both sides with very high and steep banks, covered with trees. We went along its side till we came near the vale of Tan y bwlch, where another torrent of the same kind called Bowy meets it; and both together, when joined, get the names of Druryd; and a little lower down, the torrent called Cynfael falls into it, and runs through the valley. The Teigil and another small torrent flow down each side of the rising ground mentioned above as lying in the middle of the semicircle. On the top of this ground I could see tillage and pasture land, seemingly level, mixed with trees. On the right hand side coming to Festiniog, on the farther side of the Cynfael, the hill is very steep, and covered with wood.

Saturday, 25. Lay at Festiniog. Set out on the road to Lanrwst; after going about three miles, we went to the right to see a waterfall of the Cynfael. We proceeded along a very bad road about two miles; and, after ascending a high and steep hill, we were struck with the sight of a narrow dingle with vast high barren rocky hills, terminated by a large stream of water falling down among rough stones, about 300 feet in the space of about five or six hundred yards, as I guessed partly by stepping, and partly by my eye. This cataract is called Cynant

cwn Cynfael. From hence we crossed the road from Dolgelly to Bala, over a dismal marshy barren place, to see another waterfall called Pistyl Dû, Blackfall, which falls about 20 feet into a bason, and has some pretty rocks and a few shrubs about it. From hence we returned towards Festiniog to get into the Llanrwst road. This road is for some way edged on both sides with rocky hills and loose stones, without tree, shrub, or almost any plant, but moss, and some of the coarser grasses; nor bird nor animal, except a few sheep. Afterwards we came into a wider part, with greenish barren hills on each side, till after a mile or two we found a large valley lying before and vastly below us. Here we saw two or three houses, some tillage and pasture, which improved as we came nearer to Penmachno. Here we dined; and after dinner proceeded to the place where the Machno joins the Conwy.

This is extremely fine: each of the rivers running through rocks very near one another; and the place where they meet being surrounded with high and steep rocks, covered with shrubs and trees, and the higher hills joining having also a good many trees on the sides. A little below this there is a fine fall of water called Rhaiadr cwm craig, but we did not choose to descend to the bed of the river to see it; though our guide, a man who lived close by, shewed us a path which he said people went down and up every day for fish; but it was so

very steep and narrow, with a vast precipice on one side, that we contented ourselves with seeing the fall from a pretty high bank. From hence we went on the side of a hill, having the Conwy on our right, and after about a mile came into a pleasant narrow valley, with tillage, pasture, trees, and houses. This valley grew wider and wider, till we came to a bridge over the Llugwy, where the river falls in a very pleasing manner, and a little below joins the Conwy. From hence the valley becomes considerably large, and has a great air of fertility and good husbandry. It seemed a perfect flat, divided into fine fields covered with grain and pasture, intersected by the Conwy, of which we had a view along a very fine smooth road, skirting the side of a high and woody hill. The other side of the vale is bordered by a high mountain, also covered with wood. Several houses are scattered up and down this vale, or on the sides of the hills.

In this vale stands Llanrwst. Here is a handsome stone bridge of three arches, which was built about 100 years ago, after a plan attributed to Inigo Jones. This Architect was born at a place called Dolwydd felan, and brought up in the family of Mr. Wynne of Gwydir, some of whose descendants still live near Llanrwst *. Through this town we passed to Lyffdû,

* A view of this bridge is given in Mr. Wyndham's Tour, p. 158; and by Pennant, vol. II. p. 150; who says; "The ap-

the residence of Mr. Ellis. About a mile beyond, we entered Caernarvonshire, on descending the steep hill to Penmachno; and on the other side of the Conwy is Denbighshire.

Friday, 26. Lay at Mr. Ellis's, Kyffdû. Went to see the fall of the Llugwy, about two miles above the bridge of Bettws, which we passed yesterday. This fall is between an almost perpendicular rock of vast height, covered with trees and shrubs, on one side, and very steep high downy hills on the other. It falls near 60 feet in the whole, but broken in many places with large rocks. When at the top of the downy hill, I could see the bed of the river seemingly on a level with me, at not above a quarter of a mile distance. Instead of going by Llanrwst, we went through the bottom of the vale through pleasant meadows and corn-fields of dry sound ground, and

proach (to Llanrwst) is over the bridge, the boasted plan of Inigo Jones. It consists of three arches, the middle fifty-nine feet wide: two are extremely beautiful, and mark the hand of the Architect: the third differs greatly, having been rebuilt in 1703 by a very inferior genius. I wish I could do more honour to my country than suppose him to have been a descendant of this neighbourhood; but he seems to have been by birth a Londoner, a son of a cloth-worker, who in all probability was a native of this part of Wales; but our country is right to claim the son, which is done by universal tradition of the country. The turn of his countenance, and the violence of his passions, at least legitimate no distant descent."

forded the river Conwy. Returned to Kyffdû, which lies in Denbighshire, as does almost all the country on the East side of the river Conwy. The vale of Conwy runs North and South, and is very fine the whole way from the junction of the Machno and Conwy; in all, nearly 12 miles.

Monday, 27. Lay at Lyffdû. Set out after breakfast for Denbigh; the road very good, over a tolerable country for grazing and sheep. In looking back we had a very fine view of the Caernarvonshire hills, amongst the rest Snowdon, and Carnedd y Llewellyn, which seems very high, and has snow on it near Midsummer, as Mr. Ellis, who lives in sight of it, assured us. At about four miles from Denbigh we had a full view of the Castle, which makes here a grand appearance. It lay full East of us, and beyond the hills which skirt the vale of Clwyd. The vale runs from North to South; at the North end lies Rhyddlan, and that dismal marsh which we passed last year in the dark. In going to Denbigh we went through Llangannon. The town of Denbigh consists chiefly of one long street, and is pretty well built. From the middle of the town, which is the highest part, there is a very pleasing view down a long street into the vale. The Castle is in a most ruinous condition; nothing but a gateway remaining; though it stood on a large space originally, as appears by the ruins. We dined at Denbigh; and after dinner set out for

Ruthin, which stands on an eminence in the vale of Clwyd, and is a cheerful and pretty large town. At the entrance we passed the river Clwyd, or rather a very small brook which bears that name. This vale is called Dyffryn Clwyd, or the Vale of Clwyd *; is well cultivated, and rich, consisting of tillage and pasture, interspersed with some pretty good gentlemen's houses.

Tuesday, 28. Lay at Ruthin. Set out in the morning for Mr. Wynne's of Gwrthmeilio, in the parish of Llewin, Denbighshire, in our way to Bala. We dined at his house. The road is over an open dry country, with fine sheep-walks great part of the way. We had in turning back a fine view of Ruthin, at about two or three miles from the town; and in looking forward, we saw some of the high hills in Merionethshire, particularly Arran Mowddy. The castle at Ruthin is still more demolished than that of Denbigh, the remains of the walls not being above 3 or 4 feet high. The vale is terminated about two miles from the town, by pretty high hills that lie in a circular form.

Wednesday, 29. Lay at Garthmeilio. Set out for Bala †; got there about two in the afternoon.

* Speaking of the charming Vale of Clwyd, Mr. Wyndham observes, "that for fertility it is not exceeded by any spot in England;" p. 163.

† See an account of Bala in Wyndham, p. 183; and a bird's-eye view of its beautiful lake, Pennant, vol. II. p. 77.

Dined with Mr. Price of Rhiwlas, in company with Mr. Owen, the father, and Mr. Mostyn. His house well situated, pointing South almost, with the river running before it, through a bed of large stones. Behind the house the ground rises, and is covered with wood. The lake of Bala is near 10 miles round, as found upon measure. It runs from North-west to South-east. Bala stands at the North end, and Llanucha at the other. We see Cader Idris, Arran Mowddy, &c. in view from Bala.

Thursday, 30. Lay at Mr. Price's. Set out for Montgomery. Went through a narrow vale for some miles; at last ascended a very steep hill, in going down came into a very fine valley, with a river running through it, the sides covered with wood. It is called the vale of Llanwthy, or vale of Wild-ducks. A cataract two or three hundred feet high, falls down a hill into it, very fine. Passed through a village called Dollanog, by which runs either the Vernwy, or a river that falls into the Vernwy, and forms a sort of a cataract or torrent, amidst rough large stones, very picturesque. Saw in our way a vale called the vale of Meisod, very beautiful. Dined at Caer Einion, from whence we went to Montgomery, which is a pretty good town. The castle was situated on the top of a very high rock, but there seems to be no great remains of it. We did not go up to it,

coming in late, and going out early. Nothing extraordinary in the country.

Friday, 31. Lay at Montgomery. Set out next morning for Foxley. Passed over a hilly country of fine sheep pastures, and vales in sight on both sides for a great part of the way. At last came to the edge of a very steep high hill, at the bottom of which lies Knighton in Radnorshire, where we dined. We went over the hills, which consist of fine sheep pasture, particularly near Keynesham, which seemed to be the finest I ever saw. The grasses chiefly Agrostis, Vernal, and Festuca ovina. From hence we had a sight of the lower grounds, where Weobly lies. When we got down into them, the roads were extremely bad and unpleasant, being very dirty, narrow, and covered by the hedges. Passed through Weobly, and from thence went to Foxley.

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Stillingfleet's attachment to Music—Connection with Mr. Smith—Writes Dramas and Oratorios—Letter to Mr. Neville on the performance of Paradise Lost—Appointed Barrack-Master at Kensington by Lord Barrington—Deaths of Messrs. Price and Windham—Legacy of Mr. Windham—Acquaintance with Gray, the Poet.

MR. PRICE being an excellent musician, and able composer, Mr. Stillingfleet's residence at Foxley increased his love and knowledge of music. In the midst of his botanical and classical pursuits, he dedicated a part of his time to the practice of this delightful art, being a tolerable proficient on the Violencello. His acquaintance with Mr. Smith *, the pupil and successor of Handel, which had commenced at Geneva, and had been since improved by constant intercourse, led him also to employ his poetical talents in the composition of Dramas or Oratorios to be set to

* For an account of Mr. Smith, see Anecdotes of Handel and Smith.

music. Three of these were finished for performance, Joseph, Moses and Zipporah, and Medea, but were never brought before the public; and only a few copies were printed for his own private use. He probably intended to correct and finish them more highly; for, from the manuscript notes in his own copy, it is evident that they were written on the impulse of the moment, and with great rapidity. Of Medea he says, "It was begun March 8, at ten at night, and finished March 12, at ten in the morning; nearly the same as in this printed book." Moses and Zipporah, "The plan of this Drama was first thought of, and laid, Feb. 9, 1760, at night; the songs begun Monday the 18th, and finished on the Thursday, (21,) all but the first song in the third act."

We are surprised that Mr. Stillingfleet should have selected a subject so improper for the stage as the history of Joseph; and indeed, he himself was soon sensible of this objection, for he observes, "this Drama, appearing to be unfit for the stage, was not filled up with the number of songs necessary to give it a proper length of time for performing." He has, however, managed the story with all the delicacy and propriety of which it was susceptible, and has introduced many just and striking sentiments on the fatal effects of disorderly passions, and the innate satisfaction arising from conscious innocence.

Medea was deemed equally improper for public exhibition, from the horror of the catastrophe; and therefore, after finishing the two first acts, Mr. Smith relinquished the task of setting the remainder to music. We may justly regret, that the talents of the author and composer were thus fruitlessly employed; for the piece contains many fine and moral passages, and the music was beautiful and perfectly appropriate.

Moses and Zipporah is a pastoral drama, and contains some fine descriptions of rural scenery.

It is to be regretted that this Drama was not more highly finished and set to music; as it seems well calculated for a Sacred Oratorio.

He also composed the words of Paradise Lost, an Oratorio, selected from the divine poem of his favourite author, interspersed with airs of his own composition. This piece was set to music by Mr. Smith, and performed 1760; but it must be confessed that it is the least interesting and happy of our author's performances. It would be injustice to his talents to print it entire, though we have selected a few songs which deserve preservation.

From a letter written to his friend Mr. Neville, on the second day of the performance, it appears to have received the approbation of the public, though afterwards, from want of interest, and the too great length of recitative, it was discontinued. According

to the usual custom, Mr. Stillingfleet received the profits arising from the sale of the printed copies, of which 1000 were distributed on the first representation.

"MY DEAR FRIEND, London, March 5, 1760.

"THOUGH I have not wrote to you since I came to town, do not imagine I have been unconcerned about your health; I may say the same of the rest of our common friends. We have all inquired about you frequently; and Price and I particularly have addressed ourselves to Mrs. Blosset, who had immediate intelligence from Mad. Goudet*. I have missed you much this bit of a winter that I have been in town; and hope you will make some amends when you come, for your long absence. If I am rightly informed, that will be in a short time. The Bishop of Bangor† says he thinks it is ill-fated, that you shall never meet, in spite of your mutual endeavours to be jolly together.

"I am just now come from the Oratorio‡, being the second time of performance; there was a very good house, though not quite so full as the first, but more than was expected. The music was exceedingly

* Sister of Mrs. Aldworth Neville.

† Dr. Ewer.

‡ Milton's Paradise Lost.

well received, without the least disturbance; and I imagine we shall have it a third time. But that, Smith will determine to-morrow, when he has seen the receipts. I had a thousand copies of the words printed, which were sold the first day, and more were wanted. To-day a second edition came out; but what number went off, I know not.

"I come next to an account of our friends: Price came to town with me, and is here now. He has brought with him above 50 drawings, made when we were last in Wales, very fine; and which you would have much pleasure in looking over. He will stay here till the beginning of April, certainly; three of his boys being lately inoculated at home. Windham called on me, but I was out, about a week ago, and I believe left the town the same day; for none of his friends saw him, or heard of him but myself. We staid with him two nights at Glocester, in coming up. He seemed to be but very so so. He exercised his militia to entertain us. They do amazingly well; but Sir Willoughby Aston, whom I met some time ago, tells me they are nothing to your Berkshiremen, which I suppose you will readily believe. Tate is in town, and well. Tory * is surprisingly reco-

* Samuel Torriano, esq. who at this time lived in Clarges-street; and whose house was much frequented by Stillingfleet and his friends. His wife was sister of J. Scudamore, member for Hereford.

vered since last Winter, merely by a little attention to his diet and riding. His little wife often mentions you with tenderness. A meeting has been managed between lady Sophia* and Miss Blossett, who were both desirous of being acquainted, and on Saturday we are to have a private party of music at Lady Sophia's; Mrs. Montague is also to be brought acquainted with Miss Blosset. Now for public affairs.

"The opinion of the Judges has been given, that Lord George Sackville may be tried. I saw it; and they were clear about it, and unanimous. And I am at last forced to think he will be brought to a trial, after looking upon it as impossible. But we will talk more of this when we meet. We seem to have forgot all warlike operations. You hear nothing on that subject. It looks as if people thought these affairs might be carried on by the Ministry, without private persons meddling with them.

"I prevailed on H. Stevens to let me shew his scheme for settling weights and measures, which it is said will be brought on again this Sessions, and perhaps finished. It is my opinion if any thing is done, it will be according to the plan of the report of the Committee; than which, I think nothing can

* Lady Sophia Egerton, wife of Dr. Egerton, Bishop of Durham.

be worse contrived. It will create, if followed, an infinite deal of confusion, and all no shadow of reason. I foresee it will be treated with the neglect it deserves. Were this all, it would not signify; but we shall certainly see some lucrative posts created in consequence of it, which will remain as a burthen on the public when the bill itself will be forgot. For this reason I could wish things were left to the conscience of particulars, without any more ado; for this it must come to at last.

"When I mention Miss T. under this article of public concern, you will perhaps think I have made a mistake; but that is not the case, for she has printed bills for concerts at the Little Theatre, and proposes to perform ten nights if she meets with encouragement. Her history, if I could tell it with all the circumstances related to me by Lord B., who was witness to them, would entertain you highly; but I have neither talents nor time now. With my compliments to Madame Goudet, and kindest love to your son and daughter,

"I am, &c."

His connection with Mr. Price did not end like common worldly acquaintances, in mere personal attentions; for in 1760, the influence of his friend

obtained for him, from his brother-in-law, Lord Barrington, then Secretary at War, the place of Barrack Master at Kensington. The letter written on this occasion, by Lord Barrington, announced his appointment, with a delicacy and kindness which enhanced the value of the obligation.

"DEAR SIR, Cavendish-square, June 13, 1760.

"The employment of Surveyor of the Barracks in the Savoy, and the Guard Rooms at the Tilt-yard St. James's, and Kensington, in my disposal, is become vacant, and I have given it to you. I have taken the liberty to do this without your knowledge or consent, because you never gave me the least hint that you desired one. I knew your modesty, a singular quality in this age, to which I cannot help paying a regard. This office gives very little trouble to its possessor. It ought not to give much, for it brings in clear, little, if any thing above one hundred pounds a year. Do not imagine, my dear Stillingfleet, that you are at all obliged to me for this trifle; you would not have had it if I had known a worthier man to whom it would be agreeable.

"I am, with great truth and esteem, &c."

The emoluments of this office were an essential addition to the comforts of a man whose income was as confined as his wishes were moderate. In return for this favour, he dedicated the Calendar of Flora to Lord Barrington, with equal delicacy and gratitude.

But at the very moment when the embarrassments of his situation were alleviated, he suffered a severe loss by the decease of his friend Mr. Price, and of his pupil Mr. Windham, who both died in 1761. To a man of so feeling a heart, and so insulated in the world, this double misfortune was a source of the deepest regret, and gave strength to his eccentric habits.

But he found a new call on his affection and care, by the charge of his deceased friend and pupil, who left him guardian to his only son. He fulfilled this duty with the same zeal and vigilance as he had displayed towards his father; and Mr. Windham with gratitude acknowledges the advantages which he derived from his care and instruction.

The loss of these two most intimate friends was soon followed by another, the death of Mr. Williamson: these three were the only members of the Common Room who did not survive him. We give their characters, sketched by the pen of Mr. Neville, to whom we owe the account of the Common Room, and theatrical representations at Geneva.

Robert Price *, Esq.

" Price was of a robust and athletic make, with a sedate handsome countenance. He loved manly exercises, and excelled in them all. He would have made a great figure at Broughton's; but turned that address, as he did every other, to good purposes, and good purposes only: this was occasionally exerted to correct impertinence, but never without great judgment as well as justice. He would have been the first tennis player in England; but his father telling him one day, he feared that exercise might bring him into bad company, he never would take a racket afterwards. He fathomed the depths of music and drawing, there being among the professors of those arts few in either more scientific than himself, of which his compositions in both are standing proofs: he spoke Italian well, and spoke and wrote French critically. He was but moderately read in the learned languages; and I can readily believe the report of his being no great scholar at Winchester school; for his understanding, uncommon as it was, was not of a procacious nature, and without anybrilliancy of parts: he was, however, ripening every day in knowledge; and had he lived to an hundred, he would probably have been wiser in his last year than in any of the preceding ones; so strong was his under-

* For another account of Mr. Price, see Mr. Stillingfleet's character of him in the Second Part, p. 169.

BRANCH OF THE ATLANTIC

[illegible] pinx.t J.H.Baxter sculp

ROBERT PRICE, Esq.r

From an original in the possession of
Sir Wm Price Bart.

Published by J. Nichols & Son, May 1.st 1810

standing, and so indefatigable his industry. Though of a serious aspect, and reserved behaviour, he was a great lover of fun and merriment, and the gravity with which he acted his parts on those occasions heightened our mirth exceedingly.

His death was occasioned by his virtue: hearing his father was ill at Bath, and impatient to see him, though he was confined himself with a fever, nothing could stop him; he flew, increased his own disorder, and died. Indeed before this illness, the loss of a worthy affectionate wife, and three young children, who all dropped near together, had much worked upon his gentle nature; for he truly was

'Gentle
As zephyrs blow upon the violet,' &c.

Yet had he the blessing of leaving behind him seven other fine children, with competent provision for them all, besides the honour of descending from a man who had never failed in any one essential duty of father, husband, son, friend, or neighbour.

William Windham, Esq.

"Windham, tall, thin, and narrow-chested, would vie with Price in every feat of strength and agility, and so far he succeeded that he was known through London by the name of *boxing Windham*;

whilst few knew his quiet friend Mr. Price could box at all. Fewer yet could divine that Mr. Windham would have excelled in almost every pursuit but those he was seen to follow; that he possessed Greek, Latin, Spanish *, and French, to a high degree; and knew something of Dutch and German. This was, however, the fact; and from these various sources, his amazing parts, equally quick and retentive, had drawn and amassed treasures of science and amusement, which was the more striking from his apparent dissipation: he was besides a mathematician, mechanic, and draughtsman; could and did build vessels, and navigate them himself; in short, he was every thing.

He had an utter abhorrence of restraint, which made him love to associate with those that put him under none at all: here he might throw his legs against the chimney, round himself into a hoop in his elbow chair, and at the same time read one subject, and converse on another; a method he constantly practised, and with what success the following instance will best illustrate. One day in our Com-

* He gave a proof of his intimate acquaintance with the Spanish tongue, by his witty criticism on the specimen of the proposed translation of Don Quixote by Smollett, in which he proves him grossly ignorant of the Spanish idiom, and no less deficient in that elegance and beauty of style which mark the original.

ROYAL BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

Shackleton pinx.t

J.s Basire sculp.

WILLIAM WINDHAM, ESQ.R

From an original at Felbrigg.

Published by J. Nichols & Son, May 1.st 1810.

mon Room at Geneva (which for an hour or two after dinner was the resort of every odd genius of every country) two sets were at the same time talking on different matters; one in English, the other in Italian. Windham was between them, reading as usual, yet occasionally joining with each in the language that party was speaking, and in a manner, would have made you think him solely attentive to one single subject. I remarked this, made another do so likewise, and we watched him for some time; when our surprize was increased by his shutting his book (which was old Brantome in French) and telling us an excellent story which he had been reading at the very time he was keeping up the double conversation. Intolerance of the least restraint, was a marked part of Windham's character, and serves as the best clue to unravel some seeming inconsistencies. This accounts for a man of nice honour, bright imagination, and extensive knowledge, often throwing away such talents on those who could neither do credit to that honour, entertain that imagination, nor improve that knowledge. In his friendships he was never known to fail; the friends of his youth (though he neglected their company occasionally) were ever nearest his heart; nor could he die without leaving us marks of his latest remembrance and affection.

The lively beauty of his countenance was most striking, and every feature spoke genius; it was im-

possible to see and not admire him: to this, when he chose to please, he had an address that could not fail to captivate. Such was the man who, with the additional advantages of family and fortune, had died almost unknown to his country, had not the Militia been established. He instantly adopted the measure, and pursued it with such sense and vigour, that in a short time he had the honour of being pointed out as the man who by his pen, and his example, had most contributed to carry it into perfection *. His treatise on the subject is well known, and deservedly admired even by the Regulars; and I have heard Ge-

* During his travels he was peculiarly attentive to the system established in the Prussian army, at that time the school of Europe. He applied the knowledge he had thus acquired to the advantage of his country. In the Seven Years' War, he published an Essay to prove the Necessity of a regular Militia to oppose the Invasion with which we were then threatened by an inveterate Enemy; and on the establishment of the Militia, he became a Lieutenant-colonel in that of his native county. While in this office, he introduced a new and superior mode of discipline, and may be considered as one of the first who contributed to explode our antiquated system of tactics, which, in spite of its many absurdities, and the improvements made in other countries, still maintained its ground in England. He reduced the exercise to a simple and systematic form; and by the publication of his "Plan of Discipline for the Militia of Norfolk," rendered his own corps a pattern for others. This work was highly esteemed by the best judges of military discipline, and the Author deservedly received the approbation of the patriot and the officer.

nerals declare, the author was himself one of the best Battalion Officers in the service, and might with opportunity make a great Commander in Chief. In that they were, however, mistaken; he wanted constitution: even the Militia-duty was too much for him; and greatly helped to hurry him to his grave. He left a son who promises at this early age, to inherit his father's virtues and abilities.

The Rev. JOHN WILLIAMSON.

"If ever man lived to fifty, and died without having lost a friend, or made an enemy, it was Johnny Williamson. Pope drew his character in a single line:

'In wit a man, simplicity a child.'

Had he sat for the picture, it could not have been more like: however, this is only a great outline, and I must be more minute; for his character was as uncommon as either of the preceding. With the most acute understanding, and infinite discernment, any dull scoundrel might have duped him any hour of his life; some did, and they always escaped with impunity; for he was as careful to conceal their iniquity as they could be themselves: without vice himself,

he could not bear the thought of punishing it in others.

The gentleness of his manners could only be equalled by the depth of his genius: no sickness could ruffle the one, or blunt the other. Bad health indeed checked the flight of the latter, and hindered its attaining those heights in philosophy and mathematics, to which he would otherwise have soared, as I heard from Professor Bradley, when I was a Student at Oxford, and had not the happiness of knowing Williamson; and many times have I heard it since from some of the first men in those sciences here and at Geneva; from Robins, Earl Stanhope, Stevens, Stillingfleet, Professors Calandrini and Cramer of Geneva, to whom I may, from report, add Simson of Glasgow. These are the illustrious witnesses of Williamson's inventive genius and accurate judgment; and well might they judge of both, for none of them ever published any mathematical work, when he was within reach, without first submitting it to his censure and correction. When Dr. Frewen, the celebrated physician at Oxford, had obtained his promise not to think of mathematics for a twelvemonth at least, he employed that time in making himself thorough master of Greek, which he did without any fatigue of mind; and afterwards, when his bad health had entirely stopped his mathe-

matical career, he applied himself to the study of his own profession, which he enforced and adorned with every argument and ornament that could be drawn from antient philosophy, history, poetry, or belles lettres. Superior as his genius was, it was nothing to his heart: that was literally without a spot; for I will not call by that name a thoughtless indolency, the child of innocence and generosity.

He was in the strictest sense of the word a true Christian, made up of faith, meekness, and charity. Generous to such a degree as never to look on the solitary guinea in his pocket as his own, whilst any object struck him that seemed to want it more than himself; no wonder, therefore, he was always poor. I asked him one day, why he was not of the Royal Society? his answer was, that he had never found himself worth £20. to pay the fees. This, amongst other marks of his character, I mentioned to the Duke of Bedford in my recommendation of him to the chaplaincy of Lisbon, and such an union of merit and poverty weighed more with his Grace, than the efforts of very powerful solicitors in favour of other competitors: he was appointed to that employment. How he discharged his duty, the universal veneration and affection of every rank of every nation with which he had any concern, best certified. Sir Benjamin Keene, Mr. Castres, and Mr. Hay, his Majesty's Ministers at the Courts of Spain and

Portugal, together with the whole British Factory, adored him. The Portuguese Nobility and Clergy treated him with a respect never paid to his predecessors; and what flattered him more than all the rest, the common people of Lisbon, forgetting he was a Heretick, never once offered him the least insult; but, on the contrary, were ever ready to assist him in finding out the huts of the sick or dying English sailors.

He escaped the Earthquake miraculously; but it left such a horror on his gentle mind, that he frequently requested his friends to wave their curiosity on that subject. He happened to have received fifty moidores the day before the Earthquake, and had them in his pocket the next morning; reflecting on this circumstance, he was saying some time afterwards, that he believed he had been at one time the richest man in Lisbon; "True," said Mr. Castres, "but how much had you left the next night?" he had given it all away; and soon afterwards insisted, and from a perseverance very unusual in him, prevailed with the Factory to abate 130 moidores of the stipend they had themselves fixed upon him. He, however, continued to remit a handsome allowance to his mother and sisters in Scotland, to his dying day. All his books, and papers, which last was an irreparable loss to the public, as well as to himself, were buried in the general ruin. The horrid executions

on account of the King's assassination, wrought deeply likewise on his gentle disposition, and the more so, as he had personally known the Marquis de Tavora, and others of the sufferers. Early in the year 1763, this godlike man was, about his 50th year, relieved from all his infirmities, and gathered to his kindred angels. He left just enough to bury him, and would have left no more if he had been Archbishop of Canterbury.

Such were the three members of which our little Society has been deprived; of the remaining, Lord Haddington, his brother George Baillie, Mr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Dampier, and Mr. Tate, I shall only say at present, they are worthy the friendship of those extraordinary men I have been attempting to describe; nor in the great commerce of the world in which I have since been mixed, have I ever found eight persons to whom I can at this hour more properly apply Horace's description of his own select party:

'——Animæ, quales neque candidiores,
Terra tulit, neque quĕis me sit devinctior ălter.'

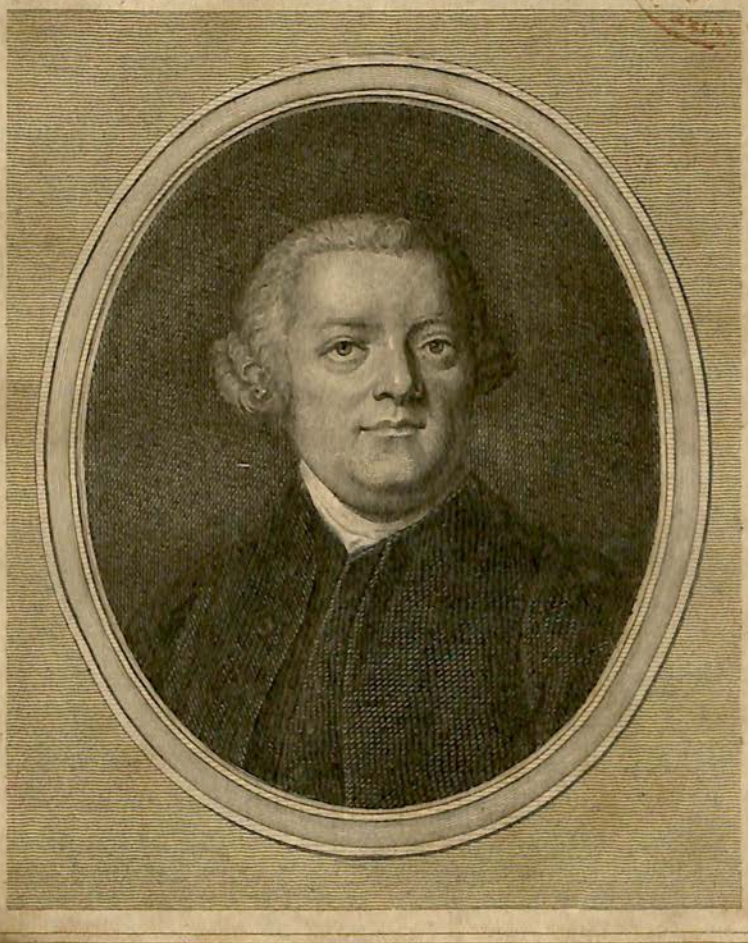
Mr. Neville, to whom we owe these striking portraits, survived Mr. Stillingfleet; but as he was one of the chief of those members of the Common Room to whom our Author was peculiarly attached, we can-

not better close these tributes to the memory of his particular associates, than by a sketch, though slight and imperfect, of his life and character.

Richard Nevillè Aldworth was born in September 1717. He was of an antient family in Berkshire; and was the only son of Richard Aldworth of Stanlake, by Catherine, daughter of Richard Neville, esq. of Billingbear, a descendant of the Earls of Abergavenny, who had married the only daughter of Lord Grey, of Worke, and represented the County of Berks in several successive Parliaments. Mr. Aldworth was educated at Eton, and a contemporary of the late Earls of Sandwich, Rochford, and Orford, of the learned Bryant, and of Owen Cambridge, with whom he maintained great intimacy as long as he lived. He continued his education at Merton College, Oxford; and finished it in foreign parts.

He lost his father in his twenty-first year, the period, as he often observed, when he most wanted the guidance of so skilful a pilot; for his father, to a great knowledge of the world, joined a cheerfulness of temper which no disappointment could ruffle, and an elegance of classical learning which had resisted every attack of pleasure and dissipation.

In 1739, Mr. Aldworth visited Geneva, and there formed those friendships and connexions with Mr. Stillingfleet and the other members of the Common



J^s Barry Sculp.

RICHARD ALDWORTH NEVILLE, ESQ^R.

[illegible] an original in the poſſeſſion of
[illegible] Lord Braybrooke.

OFFICE
BOMBAY
R.R.

Room, from which his greatest comforts afterwards flowed. The members of this little society, though for upwards of twenty years all living, might justly boast that no private jealousies or public animosities ever interrupted their friendship. Here also Mr. Aldworth formed an attachment with Mademoiselle Calandrini, a lady of uncommon accomplishments, daughter of the first Syndic, and descended from one of the best families of Geneva. He espoused this amiable lady in 1748, but had the misfortune to lose her in 1750.

Mr. Aldworth passed every winter at Geneva till 1744; then spent a year in Italy, and returned to England at the close of 1745. He was chosen Member for Reading, at the General Election for 1747, and at the recommendation of his friend Viscount Fane, was soon afterwards appointed Under Secretary of State to the Duke of Bedford, which office he filled till his Grace's resignation in 1751.

In August 1762, he succeeded to Billingbear, and other estates in Berkshire on the decease of the widow of his uncle Henry Neville Grey*; and on this occasion he assumed the name of Neville, in

* She was daughter and co-heiress of James, Lord Griffin, and espoused in second marriage, John, Viscount Lymington, afterwards Earl of Portsmouth. The estate of Billingbear was settled on her as her dowry, with a reversion to Mr. Neville.

honour of the family of his maternal grandfather, from whom that property was derived.

The same year he became Secretary to the Embassy at the Court of France under the Duke of Bedford, brought over the definitive treaty in 1763, and returned to Paris, as Minister Plenipotentiary, where he remained till the arrival of Lord Hertford. He was much beloved and respected at the French court, for the amenity of his manners, and the politeness of his address, and is frequently mentioned in the dispatches of our Ministers, and of Lord Rochford, who succeeded in the embassy, with high commendations of his abilities and character. On his return he was graciously received by the King, and soon afterwards appointed Pay-master of the pensions.

He was a most affectionate father, and an accomplished and amiable man; of cheerful temper and distinguished abilities. He was an excellent classical scholar, intimately acquainted with the delicacies of the French and Italian languages, possessed a superior taste for the poetry of his native country, particularly the drama, and is said to have read Shakspeare with a grace and propriety inferior only to Garrick. Though naturally unassuming, and fond of tranquillity and retirement; yet, when called into public scenes, he was equally diligent and able,

and fulfilled the duties of his station with no less exactness than capacity. Having frequented the first societies, his manners were highly polished and easy. He abounded with interesting anecdotes, and a variety of the most playful wit as well as classical learning. His uncommon vivacity and cheerfulness are still recollected with deep sensibility by those who enjoyed his society. It is an amiable trait in his character, that he was particularly indulgent to youth; and in the midst of his distinguished visitors of rank and fortune, invariably attentive to his younger guests; employing the most delicate address to dissipate their diffidence, and raise them at once in the opinion of the company, and their own.

Mr. Stillingfleet, in whom the general attachment to his great and amiable qualities was raised by intimacy to a species of enthusiasm, always spoke in the highest terms of his "noble and friendly soul; and humane disposition;" and in his sonnet *, characterises his mind and countenance:

> 'Generous and noble, and of open brow,
> Formed to be cheerful, and make others so.'

He retired from Parliament in 1774, in consequence of ill health, derived from repeated attacks of the gout; and after a tedious and patient suffering under

* See next part, p. 165.

that disorder, died at Billingbear in 1793, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

He left two children : a daughter Frances, relict of Francis Jalabert, esq. ; a son, Richard, who on the decease of Lord Howard of Walden * in 1797, succeeded by entail to the peerage under the title of Baron Braybrooke.

* Sir John Whitwell, who changed his name to Griffin, was descended by the female line from Edward Lord Griffin of Braybrooke, and his wife Lady Essex Holland, daughter and heiress of James Earl of Suffolk, and Baroness Howard of Walden. He accordingly obtained the revival of the Barony of Howard of Walden, and that of Braybrooke with the remainder to Richard, son of Mr. Aldworth Neville, to whom he was related. On his decease therefore the Barony of Howard went to the female line; and that of Braybrooke, in virtue of the entail, devolved on the present Lord.

CHAPTER XI.

Deaths of his Sisters and Brother-in-law, Mr. Locker—Account of his Nephew, William Locker—Exertions of Mr. Stillingfleet in his favour—Correspondence with him.

THE deaths of Messrs. Price and Windham had been preceded by domestic losses, equally severe to a man of Mr. Stillingfleet's feeling and affectionate character. His sister, Mrs. Sabourn, had paid the debt of nature, and was followed by her husband, the Rev. Bartholomew Sabourn *, for whom he seems to have entertained the warmest friendship. They left a daughter, Henrietta-Maria, to whom he supplied the place of her deceased parent; and his kindness to this niece, as well as

* The Rev. Bartholomew Sabourn, who espoused Mary the youngest sister of Mr Stillingfleet, was curate of Lewisham, and master of the free-school there. Eleanor, the second sister, who married the brother of the Rev. Mr. Sabourn, a gentleman in the law, after the death of her husband resided at Lewisham with her brother-in-law. On his decease, she with her only daughter Mary-Anne, and his daughter Henrietta Maria, who is mentioned in the text, and is still alive, removed to Castle Hedingham in Essex.

his mode of life, are mentioned by the poet Gray, with whom at this period he became acquainted.

"I send you a Swedish and English Calendar; the first column is by Berger, a disciple of Linnæus; the second by Mr. Stillingfleet; the third (very imperfect indeed) by me. You are to observe, as you tend your plantations and take your walks, how the Spring advances in the North, and whether Old Park most resembles Upsal or Stratton. The latter has on one side a barren black heath, on the other a light sandy loam: all the country about it is a dead flat. You see it is necessary you should know the situation; (I do not mean any reflection upon any body's place), and this is the description Mr. Stillingfleet gives of his friend Mr. Marsham's seat, to which he retires in the Summer, and botanises. I have lately made an acquaintance with this philosopher, who lives in a garret here in the Winter, that he may support some near relations who depend upon him. He is always employed, consequently (according to my old maxim), always happy, always cheerful, and seems to me a very worthy, honest man; his present scheme is to send some persons properly qualified, to reside a year or two in Africa, to make themselves acquainted with the climate, productions, and natural history of the Country, that we may understand Aristotle, Theophrastus, &c. who have been heathen Greek to us for so many ages; and this he has got proposed to Lord Bute,

no unlikely person to put it into execution, as he is himself a botanist*."

A still heavier affliction was the death of his sister Mrs. Locker, and of her husband, whom grief for her loss hurried to the grave. By this event, he saw himself deprived of a relative with whom his friendship had been cemented by a long acquaintance and congenial taste for the same literary pursuits, and particularly his skill in the Greek language. It called forth all his solicitude for a family to whom he was tenderly attached, and he particularly interested himself in the behalf of his two nephews and a niece, who is still living.

The eldest of his nephews, John, a respectable clergyman, was vicar of Kenton, Devon, and rector of St. Lawrence, Exeter, and died without issue.

The other, William, was born in 1732, and being destined to the sea service, at the age of fourteen commenced his career, under the protection of his relative, Captain Windham of the Kent, of seventy-four guns. On his death, Mr. Locker continued to serve during the war, and extended his professional knowledge. During the peace he improved his skill in navigation by making several voyages to the distant settlements of the East India Company, into

* Letter from Gray to Mason, in Mason's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Gray, vol. IV. p 70.

whose service he entered. On the renewal of the war with France in 1756, he returned to the Royal Navy, and served as mate and acting Lieutenant under Sir Edward Hawke, whose notice he attracted, and whose protection he acquired by his active and valorous conduct.

When Sir Edward succeeded Admiral Byng on the Mediterranean station, he took Mr. Locker with him, and gave him the appointment of Lieutenant; in which capacity he served under Sir John Strachan, on board the Experiment. This ship, while cruising in the Mediterranean, had so distressed the enemy's commerce, that a large East Indiaman was fitted out by some French merchants, and manned with a picked crew of four hundred and sixty men, in order to attack her. The crew of the Experiment consisted of no more than one hundred and forty-two men, and she mounted only twenty guns, of which fourteen were nine-pounders, two sixes, and four four-pounders; while the Telemaque, her opponent, besides the disproportion of her crew, carried twenty-six, most of which were twelve-pounders, and the remainder nine.

The ships fell in with each other on the 10th June 1757; and both parties being equally anxious for the contest, an engagement immediately took place, with the greatest fury, which was finally put an end to by the gallantry of Mr. Locker. The French,

confiding in the superiority of their numbers, attempted to board the Experiment in the heat of the action; they were in the first instance foiled; but, returning a second time to the charge, effected their purpose, though so imperfectly, that they were instantly driven back with very considerable loss. Mr. Locker immediately requested his Captain, Sir John Strachan, to suffer him to return the compliment; which being permitted, he conducted the attack in so gallant a manner, that the enemy were forced to surrender. Mr. Locker, however, was obliged to bring the French Captain wounded on deck, to command those who were quartered on the tops to cease their fire. In this encounter he received a wound from a splinter in his leg, which, though slight, affected him at times, during the remainder of his life.

The following modest account of this brilliant action, written by the gallant Lieutenant himself, was sent to Mr. Stillingfleet by his father, Mr. Locker:

"DEAR SIR,

"I have just received this letter from William:

"*Experiment, New Mole, Gibraltar, Aug.* 7, 1757.

"We are just arrived from a cruise, and have brought in with us a French privateer, of 20 guns,

460 men, which we took ten leagues to the eastward of Alicant, after an hour and half engagement close aboard. We have 14 men killed and 27 wounded. I have often experienced the goodness of Providence, but never saw any thing like this, for we had but 144 men and boys when we began. They had an equal advantage, and much greater indeed, for she was much loftier. But after her clapping us aboard, most of them were afraid to enter, and those who did, were killed. Our great guns, which we kept constantly plying, loaded with round and grape, killed such numbers, that most of them left their quarters; and Captain Strachan observing that the officers endeavoured to rally their men, thought it a proper time to board, and ordered me to take the men and enter her; which they no sooner saw, than they all, or best part of them, got off the decks as fast as they could. We had only two or three men wounded in boarding. I never saw such destruction as we had made. I believe we killed above 100, and wounded 160. I, thank God, escaped without any wounds, except my shins much cut by the dead men's arms, and falling over the dead, for the deck was full of dead and wounded. Most of our people are taken ill with their great fatigue. We had aboard the prize 247 prisoners for seven days, and 34 Englishmen, besides myself, to guard them and work the

ship. I have been very ill, but am now much recovered. We are fitting out for sea again, and shall sail to-morrow for Malaga, with a convoy.

"My duty to my uncle, and tell him I would have written, but have not had a minute's time, and to my brother John. I hope by this time he hath got something better. My duty to my Mother, and tell her I always remember her; and hope we shall live to meet much happier than ever we were."

From some extraordinary cause, no public notice was taken of this brilliant action by the Commander in Chief, Admiral Osborne; an omission which displeased Sir J. Strachan, not, as he declared, on his own account, but on that of Lieutenant Locker, to whose gallantry and good conduct the success was principally owing.

He afterwards served under the command of Captain Jervis, now Lord St. Vincent, who succeeded to the Experiment, and acquired and possessed his esteem to the end of his life. He was removed to different ships till 1762, when he was appointed by Sir Edward Hawke, fourth Lieutenant of the Royal George, and through his recommendation obtained a fire-ship with the rank of Commander. But this ship being soon put out of commission, Mr. Stillingfleet exerted all his influence with his friends to bring the spirit and talents of his nephew again

into action; and for that purpose he applied to Mr. Neville, then Secretary to the Duke of Bedford at Paris.

"DEAR NEVILLE, London, April 22, 1763.

"I should not trouble you, who are a man of business, with a letter of mere ceremony; but I have a request to make, which is of great consequence to me.

"Lord Sandwich is now at the head of the Admiralty; and I must beg your interest with him in favour of my nephew. He has a character in the navy, which I am sure will not discredit your recommendation. He has always been a favourite with Sir Edward Hawke, whose first lieutenant he was for some time, and who went to the Board himself, though very unwilling to ask favours, and insisted on his having a ship, which was granted; but it being a fireship, and he being of course his own purser, and the ship being soon laid up, he has been a considerable loser by it in every thing but rank. Now, what I want is, that you will be so kind as to ask for a ship for him, as a great many are daily putting into commission, and that it may be in a station that will be of some service to him; for every station would not be so, as he assures me, but on the contrary. He has hitherto had bad fortune, some fighting, but no

money, or a mere trifle. I need not tell you of his behaviour in the Experiment sloop, which was engaged in one of the brightest actions during the war, as I have been told by sea officers; even in that he was unlucky, for the Captain's account of that action was not transmitted to the Admiralty by the Commander in Chief.

"I hope you will excuse this trouble when you consider how much I am interested in the success of a nephew whom I have all the reason in the world to love and esteem. Solicitations are the constant plagues of power; but every advantage in this life must be paid for in one shape or other. What you do must be done soon, for many ships are already disposed of.

"I met Pottenger in the street, and was glad to find he left you well and jolly at Paris. He is not quite so fond of the French as you are; but of this, more when we meet in London, which I hope will be next Winter.

"I am, Dear Neville,
"Yours most affectionately,
"BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET."

This application failed of success, not from want of zeal on the part of Mr. Neville, but from the claims of numerous candidates to similar favour, and

from the conclusion of peace, which happened soon afterwards. Mr. Stillingfleet, however, laid aside his usual delicacy and aversion to ask favours; and I find among his papers several letters, which prove his extreme solicitude for the well-merited advancement of his nephew. His exertions were ultimately crowned with success, for his nephew was sent in command of the Nautilus sloop of war, to Gorée, to deliver up that settlement to the French on the conclusion of peace, and afterwards employed on the West India station *. We here insert two affectionate letters from Mr. Stillingfleet before his nephew's departure, which equally display his own benevolence of heart, and the justest views on the conduct of life.

"London, Nov. 8, 1763.

"I am just now come from Lord Lyttelton, who promises to give me a letter of recommendation for you to his brother†; but he would be glad to know when you go, that he may have an opportunity of sending him what news he can pick up,

* During the period he was entrusted with the service of cultivating a friendly intercourse with the American Indians inhabiting the banks of the great river Missisippi, of which he explored a very considerable extent in the prosecution of his instructions.

† The Governor of Carolina.

being very lately come to town; the longer, therefore, before he writes it the better.

"You may draw for the 20*l.* when you please: I wish it were more, being sensible you deserve this, and every other mark of my regard to you. It gives me no small pleasure to find, as I have always done, your love to your family, and your generosity of temper. But, give me leave to say, that no man can long be generous, that is not an œconomist; therefore, I hope you will think of becoming so as much as you can with tolerable decency.

"While you are abroad, I will take care to make good the allowance you gave your sister; and if you are able when you come home, you shall take her again into your care.

I thank God I begin to look upon all the family as out of the fear of want; and I am so little ambitious that I am contented with that. I lived many years with those gloomy thoughts upon me; but Providence has at length, I hope, put it in my power to assist them, though meanly, yet effectually.

I am, &c."

"London, Dec. 15, 1763.

"I am very sorry you are disappointed about the letter, particularly as you say it would have been of great service to you. I do not know

how you seamen are; but you will find, the more you converse with us on shore, the more reason you will have daily to lay little stress upon pretended friendships. I have so frequently met with coolness when I have asked the slightest favour, that I am heartily sick of such applications, and shall not easily be induced to make any for the future. This is the reason I recommend to you, so strongly, a little œconomy; for you may be assured the best and most lasting friend is money; and a sufficiency of it so as not to be dependant, will give you more of what are called friends, than all the good qualities in the world. This is a melancholy, but true representation of mankind; but this, however, does not make me out of love with the world, or set too great a value on money. I can converse with people, and have pleasure in their company, whom I would not rely on for the value of half a crown, were I to stand in need of it.

"Your last letter gave me particular pleasure, as it came after the great storm, which did so much mischief at sea:

"I am, &c."

Mr. Stillingfleet had at length the happiness to see his nephew made Post Captain in the regular course of promotion, after his return from his sta-

tion. But, as he was only employed on temporary cruizes, and his pay was too scanty to support a separate establishment, he settled with his brother, who was then recently appointed to the Vicarage of Kenton, near Exeter. A resolution, so indicative of an independent spirit, was highly approved by his uncle.

"DEAR WILLIAM, Bath, Sept. 22, 1768.

"I am sorry to find you are disappointed in your view of settling, as nothing could give me more pleasure than seeing you well established; but as that cannot be at present, it gives me great satisfaction to find you are come to a resolution of retiring out of London, where you could have no real comfort, considering your circumstances. If you can bring your mind to bear a solitary life, you will have infinitely more enjoyment at Kenton, than you can possibly have in London. You and your brother together, may certainly keep a horse: you love riding and shooting, and you may have leave for the last, from Lord Courtney; besides, you will be but eight miles from Exeter, where you may now and then go for a few days by way of amusement. Upon the whole, I think you may amuse yourself tolerably well there. You are in the right to make a trial of

taking your man with you, as he has such an attachment to you, and you to him. If you find the expence too great, it will be time enough to part with him afterwards.

"Your good friend, Mr. Duffin, I find, continues to act the same generous part by you as he has always done. It might be expected, perhaps, that I should make the same offer that he has done; and had I no one to provide for but myself, I certainly should, and much more; but I cannot bear the thoughts of running any risk when helpless women are concerned. You have been used to bear hardships of all kinds; and I doubt not you will have fortitude of mind to support the way of life you are going into. Nothing becomes a rational creature so much as conforming to circumstances; and the more so, as he gains no honour by it but among a few serious thinking people. Thousands may be found who will run the risk of their lives, for one who can sit down quietly in a country parish, after having been used to a busy active life. But I fear, however inclinable you may be to do so, you will not be long left there; for, if we can believe any reports, this poor undone nation must soon be involved in a war, and then you will certainly be called upon.

"I am, &c."

"Bath, Nov. 6, 1768.

"I should have answered your letter sooner, but that I have been a long time in a state of uncertainty about my stay here, and therefore could not tell you where to direct. My departure is now fixed for Thursday next; and you know my direction in London, where I hope soon to hear from you. I long much to know how retirement suits you, and sincerely wish you may be rewarded by content of mind for your manly and rational resolution. One satisfaction I am certain you must enjoy; that of contributing greatly to the comfort of your brother and sister. You have lived among savages, and though you did not civilize them, yet you must have learnt in some degree to bear their manners. You have been used to clear ground and raise gardens in the wildest countries; sure then you may be able to adorn and cultivate a less wild spot, and by that means reconcile the exiled to their comfortless situation, more than they have hitherto been. As to converting the barbarous inhabitants, you must leave that task to the Reverend Doctor, whose example and doctrine may perhaps in time have some effect. He should look on himself as a missionary stationed there for that great purpose. If he could bring himself to think in this way, he would appear in my eyes as a much greater character than any one in

lawn sleeves that I know of. But this is chimerical now-a-days.

"Does your gun help to furnish the table? There is something sensible and solid in that, every one will allow.

"I was sincerely rejoiced to hear John got safe to Kenton; I doubt not but he will be an useful hand in improving roads, garden, &c. Out of compassion you must find out work for him, or he will be miserable, if I judge right. I have some thoughts of coming next summer, and seeing how you go on. Whatever I find wrong, I shall lay to your charge; but will there be a bed for me?

"Looking over Frezier's Voyage, I found an account of the manner of grinding maize among the Americans in Chili, with a print of the machine they use for that purpose, which exactly answers that you presented to the Museum.

"I am, &c."

The last letter to his nephew which has been preserved congratulates him on his approaching marriage with Lucy, only daughter of William Parry, esq. Vice-admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief in the West Indies, whose esteem Mr. Locker had acquired when engaged in active service on that station.

"DEAR WILLIAM, Encombe, Aug. 20, 1770.

"I received yours, without a date, last post, and had before received the Admiral's letter to his sister, though I forgot to mention it. I am much pleased with his proceedings and proposal for you to live with him, which I think is the best thing can be done, if no objection occurs on your and Miss Parry's part. If getting a ship, and a wife, and so amiable a one, in the course of a few months, will not make you happy, I do not know what will.

"I received the grass seeds, and return you thanks for them. If you will send any other seeds which you have no occasion for to Mr. Hudson, I shall be obliged to you.

"I do not know whether I shall be at Encombe when you pass. It is possible I may be in London, where Mr. Pitt * is going for a few days, and where I have business that calls me; so, as the trouble is not great, you may hoist your flag.

"I am, &c."

Soon after his marriage, Mr. Locker obtained the command of the Thames frigate of 32 guns, which he held during the customary term of three years. He then continued unemployed till the commence-

* John Pitt, esq.

ment of the American contest, when he was appointed to the Lowestoffe, a new frigate of 32 guns, and sent to the West India station, where he remained till some years after the death of his venerable uncle *.

* It was during this period that Captain Locker had the opportunity of contributing to form the character of the illustrious Nelson, who served under his command a long time in the Lowestoffe. An affectionate attachment was thus established between them, which continued with unabated ardour during the remainder of their lives. Captain Locker was always zealous in the praise of his distinguished pupil, predicting that his great talents would one day raise him to high reputation; and Lord Nelson, with the gratitude and affection so eminently characteristic of his heart, was equally warm in expressing his sense of early obligation to his excellent friend. The following letter, written from Palermo, is a striking proof of these sentiments. It has already been made public, with many others of his valuable correspondence, but no apology will be expected for introducing it in this place.

"MY DEAR FRIEND, Palermo, Feb. 9, 1799.

"I well know your own goodness of heart will make all due allowance for my present situation; in which truly I have not the time or power to answer all the letters I receive at the moment; but you, my old friend, after seven years acquaintance, know that nothing can alter my attachment and gratitude to you: It was you who always said, "Lay a Frenchman close, and you will beat him;" and my only merit in my profession, is that of being a good scholar. Our friendship will never end but with my life; but you have always been too partial to me."

To satisfy the curiosity of the reader, we conclude our account of Capt. Locker in a note *.

* In 1779, Captain L. returned to England on account of ill health; and on the commencement of the war with France, was made Commodore, and hoisted his broad pendant on board the Sandwich of 90 guns, as Commander in Chief at the Nore. But in the following year, being disabled by the effects of the wound he received while in the Experiment, and the consequences of his active service, he found an honourable retreat in the appointment of Lieutenant Governor of Greenwich Hospital. In this office he closed his meritorious career, in 1800, in the 70th year of his age.

He left five children. William, a Captain in the 8th Regiment of Light Dragoons; John, Registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Malta; Edward Hawke, the gentleman to whom I have expressed my obligations in the preface; two daughters, Lucy, and Eliza, unmarried.

The Reader will find an account of Commodore Locker in the Naval Chronicle, vol. V. No. 27; and in Charnock's Life of Lord Nelson, p. 27.

CHAPTER XII.

Plans and Collections for the History of Husbandry—Prefaces to the different parts—Remarks on the Hieroglyphics and Obelisks of Egypt.

THE Miscellaneous Tracts were so well received, that a second edition was published in 1762, with considerable improvements and augmentations. Pleased with the approbation of his botanical labours, Mr. Stillingfleet formed the plan of a work which was likely to employ the remainder of his life. This was a General History of Husbandry from the earliest ages of the world to his own times. He seems to have commenced this work soon after the deaths of his friends and relations, as the means of solacing his grief, and occupying his mind. For several years he was assiduously employed in collecting materials, and drawing information, from the writings of both antient and modern Agriculturists, travellers, and historians, as well as from his own observation, and

the communications of the best practical husbandmen, from the gentleman to the labourer; and he left no object of husbandry untouched, nor any period of agricultural history unnoticed. These Memoranda filled six manuscript volumes, which were found among his papers. Though they were never reduced into order, yet from different scattered notes and hints, I have been enabled to present such an analysis of the work as will display the author's plan, and the diversified materials which he had collected for its execution *.

He had, however, so far matured his plan, that little more was wanting than to reduce his collections to order, and clothe them in appropriate language; for he even wrote prefaces, as well as selected mottoes † to different parts of the intended work. The first of his prefaces will display his own ideas on the subject:

* Part II. pp. 505—633.

† General title-page CERES—Μήτηρ και τροφος των τεχνων.
Fungor vice cotis, at the end of the preface.
These lines out of Lucretius before HESIOD:

"Nam veluti pueris absynthia tetra medentes,
Cum dare conantur, priùs oras pocula circùm,
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore," &c.

Before CATO—Terra gaudet vomere laureato.
Before VARRO—Antiquam exquirite matrem.
Before Virgil—Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento;
or, Sylvestrem tenui musam meditaris avenâ.
Before COLUMELLA—Ex nidito fit rusticus.

"My design in this treatise is intended not to improve upon the best known method of agriculture, and consequently not to instruct able farmers; but to spread what is known more generally, and especially to convince gentlemen that they may know much of farming without entering into that minute detail which is necessary in practice, and which, when studied in books, only perplexes people who are perfectly unacquainted both with the language and practice. The consequence is, that they give themselves up to the government perhaps of some pretended interested low bailiff, whom they regard as an oracle, when they ought and *may* be able to superintend every great work that is going forward."

He afterwards touches on the originality of the work with those peculiarities of language and sentiment which mark all his productions.

"It is possible that many things contained in the following piece may have been published in other books, especially of late, when the curiosity of men has been much turned to objects of this nature, but if this should be the case, it is without my knowledge. I am not conscious of having copied the least thing from any other writer without naming him, nor have I read a single writer on husbandry now living. It may be said, perhaps, that I ought to

have done so; but every man has his peculiar way of thinking, and if I had a mind to amuse myself in my own way, I do no harm to any. If I differ from others, they cannot say it is from a spirit of contradiction. Perhaps I had a mind not to suppress what had occurred to me, which I must have done had I found myself forestalled, or with an ill grace have said that the same thought had occurred to me before. When a whole plan is formed, as this has been several years, to be checked in some, perhaps of the most essential parts, is not only disagreeable, but gives a flatness to the work, or what is worse, tempts an author to undermine truth, in order to throw down a rival who has got the start of him. Besides I will and may justly presume that my book will be very different from any other before published, as I believe it never did nor ever will happen, that any two persons should think and speak alike on a copious subject without copying each other. But I forbear to say any thing more about a point which interests the public very little. If people find entertainment, they are generally so good-natured as not to care whether the entertainer was forced to borrow in order to furnish it."

"It will perhaps be thought," he adds, "that I am emptying my common-place book. That is not the case. If God grants me life and spirits, and the public seems to relish my way of writing, I may

shew those who have suspicions of that sort, that I could have greatly enlarged this work."

Finding, however, that the whole plan was too extensive, he seems to have formed the design of publishing the first part relating to Egypt separately, or at least as an Introduction to the principal work, as appears from the outline of another preface, and the numerous references and remarks on Egypt, which are more copious, and more finished than the other parts. In the analysis of the History of Husbandry I have given an abstract of the numerous materials relative to Egypt, which Mr. Stillingfleet considered as the parent country of agriculture, and consequently as the nurse of the arts and sciences. Other remarks, embracing different branches of Egyptian learning and science, were scattered in the Memoranda. One of these on Hieroglyphics, and another on the use of Obelisks, which could not find a place in the analysis, may not perhaps be deemed uninteresting.

HIEROGLYPHICS.

"Some have attributed the figurative way of expression used among the Egyptians to their use of hieroglyphics. I believe that the reverse is true. That innate faculty of the mind by which we are disposed to conceive the qualities of things by their similitude to one another, in certain respects, to represent a whole by a part, &c. is what laid a found-

ation for expressing by external images or marks, our internal conceptions; and whether we do this by mute marks, or marks that convey the idea of sound, it amounts to the same thing. By mute marks, I mean hieroglyphics or symbols; by the other, I mean an alphabet. The operations of the mind are employed in three several ways; for we conceive by intuition, by demonstration, or by deduction from analogy. Intuition and deduction are most known and practised by illiterate people, whose notions, being simple, corporeal, and confined within the narrow limits of the senses, they have very seldom, if ever, occasion or skill to employ demonstration. Intuitive knowledge among this sort of people shews itself in all those maxims which guide them so steadily in the common affairs of life. The spirit of analogy leads men to the figurative manner of expression, and among the vulgar produces proverbs. Thus that part of a watch or clock which points out the hour is naturally called the *hand*; we say also the *wing* of an army, the *brow* of a hill.

"It is not at all surprising that men should use this figurative way of speech, because there are certain conveniences attending it. For first, the words of a language are much fewer in number by this means, than if we had a primitive word for every different thing. Secondly, In many cases this method gives energy to the thought, as when we say we

are overwhelmed with a *torrent* of words. Thirdly, This method saves us from circumlocution, as when we say he *darted* upon his enemy, &c. Expressions of this sort are not adopted from hieroglyphics, but arise from the nature of the human mind in all countries, and are more popular than the dry and accurate terms of philosophy; and though regarded as a part of rhetoric, and taught as such, yet they are by no means the product of art; for art only teaches how to use them with propriety. The less polished a people are, the more they abound in such expressions, and the impressions of the objects on our imagination with which we are much conversant are so strong, and tincture our ideas to such a degree, that we may almost conclude with certainty where any one has chiefly lived, by his allusions. On the contrary, people who affect a sort of precision and philosophical language, and know little of the common and striking phenomena of nature, who live in cities, and spend their time in retired speculations on the working of the passions, the intrigues of courts, the abstruse disputes concerning religion, and the productions of art, are extremely cautious how they employ figurative language, and ceremoniously make an apology for using a metaphor, which their more manly neighbours would scarcely think bold enough.

But even philosophical language itself is far from being free from figures. He who should undertake to write upon morality, politics, law, or any subject but mathematics, without them, would soon find that he must frame a new set of words. Nay, even in mixed mathematics, he would be frequently puzzled to explain himself. Thus the *rays* of light, the *twinkling* of the stars, &c. must be given up as not used in their primitive sense. The truth is, our first conceptions are merely of a corporeal nature, except those which arise from intuition; and as we advance in our researches, and embrace intellectual ideas, we are naturally led to express the operations of our minds by analogy to those first impressions. Thus *obliged* by law; *melted* with pity; of a *cool* disposition, are all words taken from corporeal ideas.

As to the translation of the hieroglyphics into the sacred language, mentioned by Claudius Alexandrinus, which has so much puzzled men of learning, I apprehend that it does not mean putting the hieroglyphics into another mute character, which would serve no manner of purpose, but translating the hieroglyphic characters into the common alphabet. It may perhaps be asked why are they then called sacred? Were the common alphabetical characters sacred? I answer, certainly not, nor is it said that the hieroglyphics were translated into the sacred

characters, but into the sacred language *. Now the case seems to have been that after the alphabet was invented, the ease and conveniency of it were so striking, that even the priests thought fit to make use of it; and in order to keep concealed the mysteries contained in the hieroglyphics according to their novel and corrupted interpretations, they invented an ænigmatical language. I gather this from some few remains preserved in Plutarch, and Iamblichus, of the doctrines of Pythagoras, who confessedly borrowed his method of instruction, as well as many of his doctrines, from the Ægyptian priests. The sentences ascribed to Pythagoras are "*ignem gladio ne fodias, fabias ne comedas, cor ne edas,*" &c. These I suppose to be in a language resembling the sacred language of the Egyptians; for the meaning of these sentences remains as much a secret as if they had been delivered in hieroglyphics. This is sufficiently distinguished, both from the hieroglyphic and epistolary method, which are the two others mentioned by Clemens Alexandrius; for the epistolary I take to have been such as was used in the common correspondence between people at a distance, about the ordinary affairs of life, which most probably was the chief use made of writing by the vulgar in a country where the priests engrossed all kind of learning."

* The existence of a sacred language is proved by the Shanscrit.

OBELISKS.

"We are apt to adopt ideas that agree with our own customs and manners, when we go back to the beginnings of things, not considering that the first steps of an uncivilized people are few and slow. There is a simplicity among them that we overlook, or look down upon with contempt; and therefore want to refine every thing we meet with when we are examining the remains of nations which have made a considerable figure. Thus as we see vast pillars raised to do honour to some conqueror, or to record some extraordinary event, and for no other purpose, we are induced to think that every other use of such structures is beneath their dignity. Yet, with all due deference to heroes and their admirers, I cannot help thinking that directions given to a whole nation about the chief and most essential concerns of life, I mean how to distinguish the seasons proper for doing every kind of rural work, deserve as much to be honoured with extensive and lasting structures as the triumphs of Trajan, or the fire of London. Besides, we ought to consider that the old Egyptians had no other almanack to recur to. The name of an almanack-maker with us, raises the idea of a Partridge or a Poor Robin; whereas, even in

these days an almanack-maker is one of the chief Mandarines in China; and could we once feel the inconvenience of being destitute of all knowledge relating to the course of the Heavenly bodies, we should alter our opinion, and think no structure too magnificent to mark an almanack upon, as soon as invented; but we carry almanacks in our pockets, and imagine this was always the case.

Upon the whole, I have very little doubt but that the Obelisks were raised and used for the purposes above-mentioned, even though later Egyptians believed, or at least pretended to adopt another system. It is well known that they supposed the hieroglyphics to contain an account of their Kings. But, besides all other difficulties attending this explication, my worthy friend Mr. Stuart has made an observation which renders it totally incredible; namely, the fewness of the characters, which, though sufficient to convey knowledge to the husbandman in all the great and capital articles, were by no means enough for the variety of matter that History furnishes. The constant repetition of the same figures is alone a proof of what I have asserted.

We may therefore conclude with great probability, that the first Egyptian Inscriptions on the Obelisks were a kind of almanacks for the common purposes of life, like that which is at the end of the Rei Rusticæ Scriptores."

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Stillingfleet publishes a Treatise on the Power and Principles of Harmony, principally derived from the Work of Tartini—Observations on the Nature and Effects of Antient Music compared with the Modern.

WE have reason to regret that Mr. Stillingfleet did not complete a work for which his talents and discrimination were so well fitted, as appears from his Observations on Grasses. But the versatility of his temper led him to other pursuits; while his general residence in London removed him from the Country, the proper field of observation.

From the habits and amusements of his town life, he was next led to the investigation of the principles of Music, to which he had long been partial. This change of pursuit produced his Treatise on the Principles and Power of Harmony, on which he seems to have bestowed unusual labour. He was probably

led to study Music as a Science, by the example and suggestion of his friend Mr. Price, who was a master of the art, and had drawn up an abridgement of Rameau's Demonstration du principe de l'Harmonie*, in order to clear up the obscurities of the original. From the same motive Mr. Stillingfleet undertook the more abstruse work of Tartini, who in his "Trattato di Musica, secondo la vera scienza dell 'Armonia," published at Padua in 1754, had attempted the difficult task of reducing Music to scientific principles †.

The merit of Tartini as the first performer of his time on the violin, was acknowledged by the best musicians; and he united an enthusiasm for the study of his favourite art, with a considerable knowledge in the higher branches of Mathematics, and their application to Music. A treatise on the principles of harmony from such a master could not fail to be highly interesting. But the real value of his knowledge was diminished by his pursuing fanciful analogies, and deducing the principles of harmony from abstract ideas. Hence he was frequently bewildered in a labyrinth of his own creation; and his writings

* See next part, p. 171.

† Tartini published a subsequent treatise, elucidating many obscurities of the first, under the title "De' Principi dell 'Armonica Musicale contenuta nel diatonico Genere. Padova. 1767." This work Mr. Stillingfleet does not appear to have seen.

were so abstruse as even to escape the comprehension of some great mathematicians; even D'Alembert himself remarked, "It were to be wished that the author would engage some man of letters equally practised in Music and skilled in writing to develope those ideas which he himself has not unfolded with sufficient perspicuity."

This task was undertaken by Mr. Stillingfleet, and executed with equal judgment and success. Unlike ordinary translators, he has placed the true principles of his author in a clearer light; he has corrected many of his errors, or explained his obscurities; and, as far as the abstruse nature of such investigations will admit, has rendered the scientific principles of Music intelligible.

In a word, this work is not a mere translation, but rather an Analysis or Abstract of Tartini's principles, with such an addition of new matter, that it may justly be deemed the joint production of Tartini and Stillingfleet. Those who are versed in the subject, speak in high terms both of the original and analysis or translation. In particular, Dr. Burney observes, "From the principles and power of Harmony, I have received the highest pleasure that an elegant, clear, and masterly performance can give; who the author is, I know not, but he seems perfectly to understand Tartini's principles, and to have

done justice to his genius without being partial to his defects *."

The primary and most important principle developed in this work is the doctrine of what are called third sounds, which the delicate ear of Tartini first discovered, and which he considers as the origin of Harmony. This peculiarity is thus described: "If two sounds, not an octave or unison, be given at the same time on a musical instrument capable of a lengthened note, a third may be heard by an attentive ear, different from both †." From this phænomenon, he deduces the theory of third sounds, arising from simple intervals, which together complete the

* Burney's present state of Music in France and Italy, vol. III. p. 131. Although Mr. Stillingfleet's work was anonymous, its merits attracted notice; and we find it analysed soon after its publication, in the Monthly Review, in a very judicious and elaborate criticism. Monthly Review, November and December, 1771.

† Many attempts have been made to account physically for this singular phænomenon of third sounds, which so long escaped the notice of Musicians and Mathematicians; some deriving it from actual vibration of the strings; others from the collision of the two sounds in the air, from the same principle by which the mixture of two colours produces a third; and others from some property of the sensitive faculty, or the vibration of the nerves of the ear. We refer the reader to a curious discussion on the causes of this phænomenon, in the Monthly Review, vol. XLV. for 1771.

harmonic series. The merits of this discovery were claimed by Rameau, who, in the year preceding the publication of Tartini's treatise, exhibited the same experiment; but Tartini proved in a subsequent publication *, that he had made his discovery as early as 1741, and since that time had adopted it as the foundation of his musical theory, and he appeals for the truth of the fact to his numerous scholars.

In a work on the fundamental principles of his art, it was natural that Tartini should direct his attention to a subject which has long divided the musical and learned world, the nature and effects of music among the antients.

With respect to the nature of Antient Music, he is decidedly of opinion that the Greeks were unacquainted with counterpoint, or what we call harmony, namely, the union of different voices singing different parts; and that, if they knew it, they could not have employed it to attain the end which their musicians seem to have kept in view, moving a particular passion; but for this purpose must have used simple melody from a single voice, or two or more voices in unison. Tartini is equally eloquent and just in his remarks on this subject, and though himself distinguished for the brilliancy of his execution as a performer, proves the effects of simple music to be far superior to the most complicated and scientific harmony.

* De' Principi dell' Armonica Musicale, &c.

"If the intent of the Greeks," he says, "was to excite not any general affection, but a particular and specific passion; it is as certain as that Nature cannot err, that every passion has its particular movements, and its particular tone of voice. For instance, the most universal and opposite passions, joy and grief: joy has its sprightly movement, and its intense and acute tone of voice; grief its slow movement, and low and languid tone. In proportion to the greater or less degree of each passion as long as it remains within its limits, and in its nature, both movement and voice alter likewise.

"This is the course of Nature, as must be obvious to the reflection of every one. How then is it possible, according to Nature, that the harmony of four voices, the extremes of which are the base and the treble, should succeed in exciting to mirth, when there is an intrinsic opposition in the conjunction of acute and grave; one belonging to cheerfulness, the other to grief*. But it may be said that this defect may be supplied by a sprightly movement in the treble; this is very well for one part, but ill for the whole; because a certain movement and a particular voice belong to every passion, not a movement

* We have ventured to correct a word evidently misprinted in Mr. Stillingfleet's translation, p. 70; for, in the original it is "questa propria della mestizia, quella del l'allegrezza."

separated from the voice, nor a voice separated from the movement."

Continuing to develope his great principle, Tartini adds:

"It is not a light task to undertake to raise by the means of poetry and music, a determinate passion. I, for my own part, believe it is much more difficult than that which an orator undertakes when he attempts to move and persuade; nay, I believe it to be the most difficult task that can be undertaken in the whole compass of human affairs. To obtain this, it is necessary for the musician to bring the human mind to a perfect attention; nay, to an intenseness of attention. We cannot attain this while there is the least distraction, which must be derived from the clash of the different voices. This is a truth derived from Nature; it is no production of my own brain. It is therefore impossible to excite such a determinate passion by the means of a song joined to Harmony, in our sense of the word: at most, a beginning of commotion in general is all that is possible. If the Greeks therefore knew harmony in our sense, they ought not, nor could they avail themselves of it, for the end they had in view; because in regard to the principles of Nature, in which all men certainly resemble one another; we, ourselves, who know harmony, must be constrained to

exclude it, and make use of a single voice* if we propose to attain the same end."

Tartini confirms this opinion by instancing the effects of simple airs.

"Every nation," he adds, "has its popular songs, many of which are of antient tradition, many newly composed, and adopted by common consent. In general, they are extremely simple; nay, the most simple are generally the greatest favourites; and it is certain that in these there cannot be much modulation. That the people listen with greater pleasure to one of these songs, than to the most exquisite song modulated through all the maze of harmony, is an observation as easy to make, as it is significant when verified. But it will be said the effect is equivocal, because it may as well proceed, and perhaps will proceed more from the words of the song, which are interesting, than from the music. I answer, let the same words be joined to the simple song, and to another exquisitely modulated according to our art; and let the same musician sing both one and the other; yet still the judgment will certainly be in favour of the first song. I repeat what I have before said, Nature has more power than Art; and I add, that the greatest and best part of Music is diatonic,

* The author evidently means a single voice, or two or more voices in unison.

though the most difficult to treat well by reason of its extreme simplicity, as being nearest allied to Nature."

Mr. Stillingfleet coincides with his author on this point.

"I do not doubt but that many people will be amazed to find Tartini speak so strong against simultaneous harmony, and be apt to look upon what he has said or can say, as not worth their notice. But I desire that they will consider this as the opinion of a man perfectly well qualified to judge, both from his situation and his extraordinary genius for music; and that it is probable nothing but conviction could induce him to speak in this manner, considering all the prejudices that must naturally lie on the other side of the question, from the prevailing fashion in his own country, where music flourishes more than in any other part of the world; and where genius is more able to cover defects, if they can be covered by the elegance of the composition, and the brilliancy of the execution. His authority, therefore, ought at least to suspend our judgment till a fair trial has been made. Nay, I may say, that something like a trial has been made, and, when it has been made by a composer of genius, has always succeeded. Those feelings of nature, which, as Tartini observes, are and must be common to us and the Greeks, have of late years put the Italian

masters upon working the parts less in their opera music; and have produced those thrumming bases, as they are called by our harmonists, by way of ridicule.

"I believe most men, if they dared to speak their own feelings, would talk the language of Tartini; but the dread of being thought to have a vulgar taste, puts them under restraints, and makes them undergo the fatigue of silently listening, with a dozing kind of attention, as if they were well bred, and ashamed to interrupt others, to what they are told is fine; but which they cannot, with all their endeavours, be brought to think agreeable; whereas, many of our old simple songs steal our affections, in spite of all our prejudices, and even when we are almost ashamed to be touched by such low and vulgar things; but high-bred taste, like high-born pride, is sometimes forced to listen to the humble dictates of Nature, and enjoy a pleasure it does not openly avow. Since this is the case, it is no wonder the Beggar's Opera pleased so much at first, and still continues to be the darling of the Nation; for I think there is a greater number of truly affecting songs in it than can be picked out of many (I will not say how many) volumes of Operas; but who dares own they like the music? Every body goes for the sake of Polly and Mackheath, and only bears the tunes. That this should happen in our Northern

climate, where the ear is certainly not so delicate as in Italy, would neither be extraordinary, nor conclusive in favour of simple music; and therefore there wanted the express testimony of the greatest composer and performer in the climate most favourable to music, in order to convince us that we do not judge as we do, or as I suppose we do, merely from the dullness and depravity of our organs. Let us then boldly say with the Duke, in Twelfth-Night, Act II. Scene 6.

"Give me that piece of song,
That old and antique song we heard last night;
Methought it did relieve my passion much;
More than light airs, and recollected terms,
Of these more brisk and giddy-pated times.
It is old and plain;
The spinsters, and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids, that weave their thread with bones,
Do use to chaunt it."

With regard to the controverted question, whether the Greeks were acquainted with counterpoint, or simultaneous harmony, Mr. Stillingfleet differs from his author, and produces many passages from the antient writers in support of his opinion. But on the essential part of the question; whether the wonderful effects attributed to their music were the re-

sult of simple melody, or complicated harmony, he perfectly joins with Tartini; and draws the conclusion that the antients were acquainted with music in parts, but did not generally use it.

On the power and effects of Antient Music, both Tartini and his translator agree. Tartini argues in favour of the superiority of the Greeks, from the circumstance that the same person was musician, poet, and philosopher, and treated natural subjects according to nature, among a people lively, cultivated, and interested in the subjects. He confines his references to the testimony of Plato and Aristotle. But Mr. Stillingfleet enters into a laboured disquisition which displays all his learning and argument. As this part is entirely his own, we give an abstract of it to develope his principles.

After tracing the origin of music in Egypt, which country he considers as equally the mother of all the Arts and Sciences, he combats the opinion of Wallis and others, who controvert the accounts given of the effects of the Antient Music, or attribute them to the rusticity of the people, comparing them with those of a fiddle or bag-pipe at a country Morris-dance.

" To speak freely, I cannot help being amazed to find so crude an opinion delivered by a man of Dr. Wallis's character, on a subject, which, as appears by his excellent edition of Ptolemy, employed his

thoughts very much. Had he confined this unfavourable judgment of the antient music to some fabulous accounts which we meet with here and there, about its effect on various kinds of animals, as wolves, elephants, mares, wild boars, deer, dolphins, &c. it would hardly have been worth while to contradict him, though some of these stories are most undoubtedly founded on truth; because they do not so much prove the excellence of the musician as the exquisite workmanship of the great Author of Nature. Had Dr. Wallis's censure gone no further than this, I should have said nothing about it; but when it throws a suspicion on the testimony of the greatest men of antiquity, I cannot but think it deserves some examination. When I say the greatest men, I mean such as had the highest reputation in the most enlightened times in Greece, that is, the most enlightened times in the annals of the world. I shall not at present cite the opinion of this great man about the effect of music. This I shall mention afterwards. I shall now only consider, in a general way, what probably may have been the state of music in the time of Plato and Aristotle, who are the chief authors that give such incredible accounts of its effects.

"Homer lived about four hundred years before Plato and Aristotle. Does it then appear, that music, even in his days, was a rare thing? So far from it, that we have an account of music in various

ways, perpetually occurring in his poems, particularly in the Odyssey, which has been justly called the Κατοπτρον τὸ βιε ανθρωπινε*, and which we may therefore suppose to give a true picture of what he daily witnessed. In the Iliad and Odyssey together, there are above fifty places where music is mentioned, in some of which the tibia and cithara are employed; in some, singing and playing on instruments are called the companions and ornaments of a feast. In others, responsive choral singing at a funeral is described; in others, singing to the cithara, to cheer the labourers at a vintage; in others, Apollo preludes, and the Muses sing alternately; in others, Phemius, or Demodocus, performs a kind of musical drama, or what ought rather perhaps to be called a Cantata, with a regular subject; from whence I conclude that the music must at least have been tolerable; for we cannot suppose that Homer would have thought it worth while to celebrate even good poetry, accompanied with such wretched music as a bag-pipe can produce. Nay, we cannot without being extravagant, suppose that barbarism and civility could be so absurdly coupled together, whatever seeming proofs, either antient or modern, may have been produced to the contrary."

"After Homer, some of the first writers were the Lyric and Dithyrambic poets, as the two Alcmans, Simonides the elder, Terpander, Arion, Stesichorus,

* The Mirror of Human Life.

Sappho, &c.: these were of course practical musicians and composers; and we must necessarily suppose that music was rather improved than the contrary under such masters. Next came the theatrical poets; and they too set their own pieces to music; and that the Greek tragedy was throughout set to music, appears by a passage in Aristotle, which is the only testimony I shall quote in proof of my assertion: 'The Hypodorian and Hypophrigian modes are improper for the chorus; but more suitable for the Scenic personages.' vol. II. p. 770.

"But again, music was so far from being rare at the time when the authors lived who give an account of its wonderful effects, that it was a regular part of education. This is so well known a fact that to undertake to prove it would be a mere ostentation of reading. Every school-boy knows what Cornelius Nepos says of Epaminondas; and the story of Themistocles, related by Cicero, is almost as well known. Instead, therefore, of citing such trite instances, and fifty others similar to them, I will give one from a people who are frequently represented as rather averse to the study of music. Xenophon says, that Agesilaus, at the solemn festival called Hyacinthia, performed his part in the Pæan sung to Apollo, being appointed thereto by the master of the chorus. From hence it appears, that music must have made a part

of education amongst the Lacedemonians; otherwise we cannot suppose that one of their kings could, with any decency, have been appointed to sing on a public occasion. This story will afford many reflections; but I have not room to wander into all the paths where my copious subject would lead me.

"What shall we say to the passage cited by Athenæus out of Aristoxenus: 'I, and a few others, recollecting what music once was, and considering what it now is, as corrupted by the theatre, act like the people of Posidonium, who annually celebrate a festival after the Greek manner, in order to keep up the memory of what they once were; and before they depart, with tears deplore the barbarous state they are brought into by the Tuscans or Romans.'

"Is not this passage a convincing proof that music must have been carried to a great degree of perfection as early as the time of Plato and Aristotle? What shall we say about the care of the Greek musicians in adjusting the modes, instruments, and rhythm together, and this with a scrupulous exactitude, that savours to us of whim and affectation. Instances of this sort abound in the antient writers. Is it usual for arts that are so little understood, and only practised among rustics, to be so very nice? What shall we say to the custom among the Athe-

nians of erecting monuments with tripods in honour of the tribe which gained the prize in a chorus, where the names of the furnisher and teacher, the number of performers, and whether men or boys, were recorded? Was music rare when a whole people contended thus with one another, in bodies; which of them could produce the ablest musicians? Or can we suppose the music to be ordinary, or even indifferent, when it was studied by so many ingenious rivals?

"Let any one consider all these circumstances, and decide whether it is possible to reconcile them with Dr. Wallis's opinion, who, after having observed that music, with the antients, took in poetry, dancing, gesture, as well as singing and playing, says thus: 'Now all this together must needs operate strongly on the fancies and affections of ordinary people, unacquainted with such kind of treatments.'

* * * * *

"But Dr. Wallis enters into particulars, and objects to the stories about Orpheus, Amphion, Timotheus, &c. Now what is said about the two first of these musicians is so plainly poetical that a child cannot mistake it; and perhaps may only mean that men were incited and encouraged to work by the power of music; as Nicomachus indeed seems to

say nothing more in a passage about Amphion *; and as the Argonauts are said by Apollonius Rhodius, to have been incited to row by the lyre of Orpheus. This kind of encouragement was not unusual among the antients: Homer mentions a boy singing and playing on the cithara to the labourers at the vintage; and Euripides, a musician playing on the pipe to the rowers. (Iphig. v. 1125.) This, I say, might possibly be the whole that was meant by the stories about Orpheus and Amphion.

"But we are not obliged to confine ourselves to that meaning, as we have sufficient reason to believe that their music was uncommonly touching, and capable of producing any effect almost within the limits of possibility. The reason we have for thinking thus highly of their music, is not drawn from theory,

* Mr. Stillingfleet observes in p. 123, "It is related, that Mercury invented the lyre, which he made of a tortoise, and having put seven strings to it, gave it to Orpheus, and taught him how to use it. Orpheus taught Thamyris and Linus to play upon it, and Linus taught Hercules, by whom he (Linus) was killed. Orpheus also taught Amphion, who built Thebes, with seven gates, to the sound of his seven strings. When Orpheus was killed by the Thracian women, it is said his lyre was thrown into the sea, and carried to Antissa, a city of Lesbos, and that some fishermen, happening to meet with it, gave it to Terpander, who having adorned it very finely, took it with him into Egypt, and shewed it to the priests there, and gave himself out as the inventor."

which is a most deceitful guide in cases of this kind; though the only one which Dr. Wallis had, or could have, to follow. No, we stand upon other and better ground, and such as may be fairly relied upon; I mean the testimony of those who heard, if not the music of Orpheus and Amphion, yet that of musicians full as old.

"Plato, speaking of the music which remained in his time, of Marsyas, and his disciple Olympus, says (p. 567), 'that it was most divine, and adapted in every particular manner to stir and affect the mind.' This testimony of Plato, who was himself a practical musician, and lived at a time when music flourished in an eminent degree, ought to have great weight. Again, Aristotle says (p. 455), 'that the compositions of Olympus raised an enthusiasm in the soul.' Lastly, the music of Olympus was preserved to the days of Plutarch, who says it surpassed any music then known. Now Olympus was at least as old as Orpheus, and it was he who composed the *curule* song (Plut.), which caused Alexander to catch up his arms while Antigenidas was performing it, (Id. p. 335.)

"As to the effect of the recent music in the time of Plato and Aristotle, they both speak of it in very strong terms. Plato, after mentioning several of the modes then in use, excludes some and admits others into his republic, on account of their different

effects on the morals; and Aristotle says that the subphrygian mode affects the mind something like madness, and drives it into a kind of Bacchanalian state; that the Phrygian mode raises enthusiasm. This, adds he, is rightly confirmed by those who are conversant in things of this kind; for they speak from what they see actually happen.

"It appears then, that the two above-mentioned philosophers perfectly agree in their opinion about the power of music, and the propriety of making it a part of education, though the disciple takes every occasion to contradict his master, especially in relation to his republic.

"It is curious to observe the different motives they make use of to recommend music. Plato, who was given up to the sublime of speculation, says, that music accustoms the mind to order, and thereby allures it to the love of virtue, which is nothing but moral order; and so raises it gradually to the contemplation and love of that being, who is alone the source of all order, both natural and moral. This was the way of reasoning of that great philosopher, and the same way of reasoning made him recommend the study of astronomy, and of the sciences subservient to it, as arithmetic and geometry. He thought all other views but that, beneath the dignity of man. His disciple, Aristotle, talks more like a man of the world on this occasion, as he does in all

other parts of his philosophy; and says, we should not only be taught to do business with honour, but also to be idle with dignity; that it is unworthy of a gentleman to make profit the only view in all his pursuits, that it is scarcely possible to judge rightly, in any art which we have not practised, and therefore in order to qualify people to be pleased with nothing but what is fine in music, they must practise it in their youth; that, as the young can never be at rest, their parents ought to provide them with some innocent amusement, as Archytus contrived a rattle for children, in order to keep them from doing mischief.

"But to return to my main purpose, which was to shew that the stories mentioned about the effect of the antient music were not owing either to its scarcity, or to the rusticity of the audience. This point, I imagine, must appear very evident to any impartial reader, by what I have already said; but if it were necessary, I could, with the greatest ease, produce the testimony of poets, historians, soldiers, statesmen, lawyers, divines, philosophers, of the highest character for wisdom and gravity, living in several ages and countries, all concurring to confirm the opinion of Plato and Aristotle; and what is extraordinary, I do not remember that Lucian, who takes every opportunity of exposing the philosophers, ever once ridicules them for it. If all these circum-

stances are not sufficient to gain our belief, merely because we moderns have not the same musical power; then have the Kamschatcans a right to decide that it is impossible to foretel an eclipse, or to represent all the elements of speech by about twenty-four marks."

After endeavouring to prove that the principle of Harmony pervades both animated and inanimate Nature, he adds, that it is intended by Providence to produce some of our purest and most affecting pleasures, and to lure us to the love of order; and he concludes with a beautiful eulogium on this favourite science.

"Music is the voice of industry, of content, of serenity, of innocence; in short, it is the voice of Nature, uncorrupted and unoppressed, and as such is heard, and once was more frequently heard, in our fields and villages. When it is considered in this light, it is of all harmonies the most delightful; as such, it has struck men of the most delicate sensations.

"The ploughman whistling o'er the furrow'd land,"

"The milk-maid singing blithe,"

"The spinsters and the knitters in the Sun,
And the free maids, that weave their thread with bone
Chaunting,"

were objects that drew the attention of two of the greatest poets the world has known. But, agreeable as these effusions of the heart may be to every man who has feeling, yet, since it has pleased our good and great Creator to grant us faculties capable of improving the imperfect sallies of nature, I cannot conceive why we ought not to go a step further, and learn music as an art, and even make it a regular part of education, as was antiently the custom of many wise nations. I would not willingly incur the censure of some grave and sober people, who think we have already but too much of trifling and useless amusements. I must therefore explain myself:

"My opinion is, that young ladies at least who have a tolerable ear, to say nothing of the other sex, should learn music. But, as I do not recommend it to them for the purpose of parade and ostentation, so I do not wish to have them attempt to rival theatrical performers either in their singing or playing. A proper model to imitate on this occasion is given by Plato, who recommends only the simplest kind of music for the education of youth. In his books of laws, he proposes that they should begin at the age of thirteen, and continue for three years, and no longer. Something of this sort might perhaps suit our young ladies in general. It seems

sufficient that they learn music enough to form their ear, and to be able to pick out an easy tune by the help of some manageable and portable instrument, as the guitar; and particularly that they learn to tune it well. Their business should be to practise merely for the amusement of themselves, their own family, and particular friends, or rather for domestic comfort, which they were designed by Providence to promote, *viz.* to calm the boisterous passions; to relieve the anxieties and cares of life; to inspire cheerfulness; to appease the nerves when irritated by pain, sickness, or labour of mind or body; to soothe the peevishness of infancy and old age; and to raise the mind to a feeling and love of order. She who shall improve the natural talents with which women are born, of doing all these things, will not have mis-spent her time by applying three years to music. How it serves those noble purposes, as now practised, I leave others to tell.

"That the divine gift of music was in a great measure intended for these purposes, seems clear from the course of nature in other animals. The birds, who, except man, are almost the only songsters in the creation, hardly ever sing but to relieve the tediousness of incubation in the females; insomuch, that wherever you hear a bird sing, you may be generally sure that there is a nest not far off."

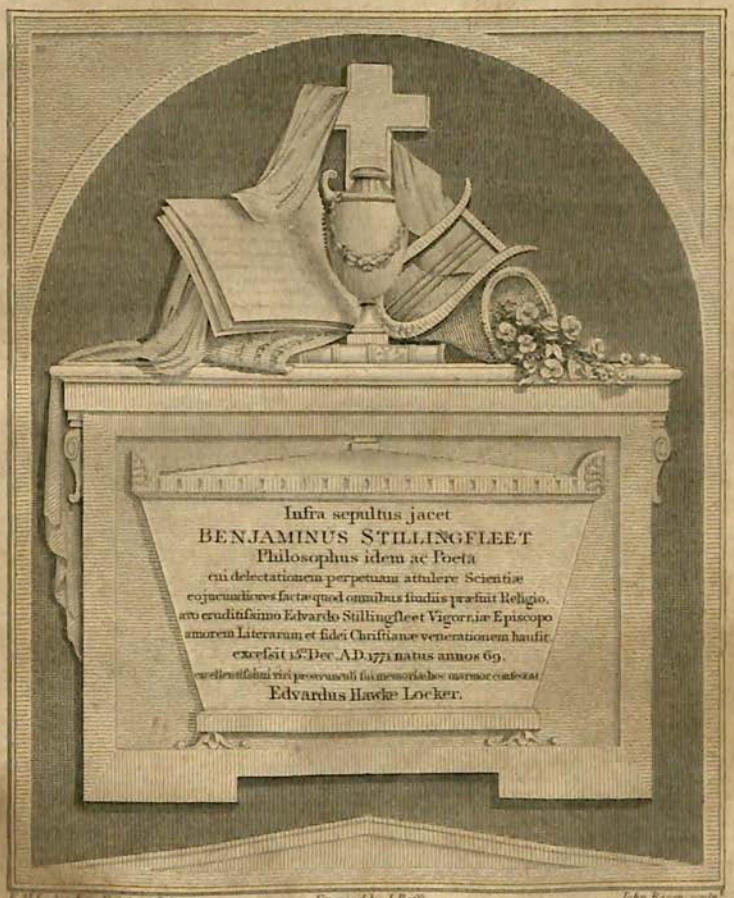
"I find it difficult to quit this enchanted ground, surrounded as I am by Syrens on every side, who are tempting me to quit my course; but reason seems to beckon me away, and to point to the port in view. However, I hear the voice of one who must be obeyed. Urania whispers me about music employed in the pure worship of God, of Prophets prophesying with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them; of injunctions to sing praises to God; of Saints harping and singing before the throne of God; of music accompanying the Creation, the redemption, the resurrection*."

* 1 Chron. xxiii. 5, and xxv. 3. 2 Chron. v. 12. 13. Psalm xxxiii. 2. c. 3. Ephes. v. 19. Coloss. iii. 16. Job xxxviii. 7. Luke ii. 13. 1 Corinth. xv. 52.

CHAPTER XIV.

Death, and Character of Mr. Stillingfleet.

THE Treatise on the principles and power of Harmony was the last of his literary labours; for he died on the 15th of December, in the same year in which it was published, aged sixty-nine. His death was occasioned, not by any specific disorder, but by a general decay of nature. He died at his lodgings in Piccadilly, opposite Burlington-house, and was buried in St. James's church, where his great nephew, Captain Locker, has recently erected a monument to his memory, (of which an engraving is annexed), with this appropriate inscription:


Iufra sepultus jacet
BENJAMINUS STILLINGFLEET
Philosophus idem ac Poeta
cui delectationem perpetuam attulere Scientiæ
cujuscunque res factæ quod omnibus studiis præfuit Religio.
avo eruditissimo Edvardo Stillingfleet Vigorniæ Episcopo
amorem Literarum et fidei Christianæ venerationem hausit
exstitit 15° Dec. A.D. 1771 natus annos 69.
cui eruditissimi viri præservandi sui memoriæ hoc marmor consecrat
Edvardus Hawke Locker.

L. Ll. delin. et sculp. R. S. Antiq.ies

Engraved by J. Roffe.

John Bacon, sculp.

Mr. STILLINGFLEET'S,

Monument in St. James's Church,

PICCADILLY.

Infrà sepultus jacet
BENJAMINUS STILLINGFLEET,
cui delectationem perpetuam attulere Scientiæ,
ei jucundius factæ quod omnibus studiis præfuit Religio.
Ex avo eruditissimo Edvardo Stillingfleet Vigorniæ
Episcopo
Litterarum amorem, et fidei Christianæ venerationem
hausit.
Excessit 15° die Decem. A.D. 1771; natus annos 69.
Excellentissimi viri Proavunculi sui memoriæ hoc
marmor consecravit
Edvardus Hawke Locker *.

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* Here lies interred
BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET,
To whom the Sciences afforded a perpetual delight;
More especially as Religion was the first object of all his studies.
From his learned grandfather, Edward Stillingfleet,
Bishop of Worcester,
He drew his love of letters,
And veneration for the Christian faith.
He departed the 15th December, 1771, aged 69.
To the memory of this excellent man, his great uncle,
This marble is consecrated, by
Edward Hawke Locker.

Mr. Stillingfleet was no less regretted by the public for the diversity of his knowledge, than lamented by those who intimately knew him, for the amiable qualities of his heart; yet, notwithstanding his numerous connexions, it is singular that this imperfect sketch is the first Biographical account of a literary man, who deserved so well of his friends and country, except a few notices given by Sir John Cullum in the Annual Register, and from thence republished in different works, with scarcely any addition.

With a heart formed for domestic society, and social intercourse, and having witnessed the connubial felicity of his friend Mr. Price, it is no wonder that Mr. Stillingfleet, notwithstanding his early and severe disappointment, should have found an object of attachment in his maturer age. The lady who at this period made an impression on his heart, was Miss Anne Scudamore, sister of John Scudamore, esq. of Kentchurch, in Herefordshire. He frequently met her in London, at the house of Mr. Toriano, who had married her sister. His manners and character made a no less favourable impression on a lady who possessed the same disposition and the same amiable qualities. But that wayward fortune which had blasted the early hopes of our philosopher, was no less adverse to his more sober and mature attachment: as neither possessed sufficient fortune for an establishment, prudence forbade an

union; love gradually subsided into friendship, and the lady, like Mr. Stillingfleet, died unmarried.

The merit most generally attributed to Mr. Stillingfleet is the service which he has rendered to our Natural History and Agriculture. In the present age it may not be deemed a merit in a gentleman, who is at the same time a man of letters, to encourage such pursuits by precept and example; as we have numerous instances of men of the first rank and abilities, who have dedicated their time and labours to the promotion of this branch of useful knowledge. But, in the time of Mr. Stillingfleet the case was far different; for few men of respectable rank in society were farmers, and still fewer, if any, gave the result of their experience and observations to the public. On the contrary, there seems to have existed among the higher classes a strong prejudice against agricultural pursuits, which Mr. Stillingfleet took some pains to combat, and which indeed his example, as well as his precepts, greatly contributed to overcome. Many proofs occur in his writings, of his zeal for the improvement of our National Agriculture; to one of which we may particularly refer the reader, in the Memoranda for the History of Husbandry, p. 599, to 604; where he displays the advantages conferred on practical agriculture, by the researches and writings of men of science and letters.

As a poet, Mr. Stillingfleet is less known, because few of his compositions were ever given to the public, and those were short, and confined to local or temporary subjects. The Essay on Conversation; the Poem on Earthquakes; the Dramas and Sonnets, will certainly entitle him to a place on the British Parnassus; but, when we consider his refined and classical taste, his command of language, his rich and varied knowledge, and the flights of imagination which frequently escape from his rapid pen, we can have no hesitation in asserting, that if instead of the haste in which he apparently prided himself, he had employed more patience and more assiduous correction, he would have attained no inconsiderable rank among our native poets.

Independently of his merits as a naturalist and a poet, he possessed great versatility of genius and multifarious knowledge. His intimate acquaintance with the higher branches of the mathematics, and his skill in applying them to practice, are evident from his Treatise on the principles and power of Harmony; and all his works, both printed and manuscript, display various and undoubted proofs of an extensive knowledge of languages, both antient and modern, and a just and refined taste, formed on the best models of classic literature.

It now only remains to trace, though imperfectly, his personal character.

He possessed a mind truly noble, and even in the times of his greatest embarrassment, he preserved a high spirit of independence, and commanded respect from all with whom he had intercourse. He adapted his style of expence to his income, and declined pecuniary assistance from the most intimate of his friends; yet the narrowness of his circumstances, and the habits of economy, which he was compelled to practise, neither contracted his mind, nor rendered him unfeeling to the distress of others. His humanity was unbounded, and his affection for his relations displayed in the most active and benevolent exertions. Even under pressing exigencies, he always assisted the family of his sister, Mrs. Sabourn; and at one period gave fifty pounds a year from an income of not more than a hundred. After his income was increased by Mr. Windham's legacy, and the place given him by Lord Barrington, he did not relinquish his habits of economy, nor change his mode of life; but devoted his superfluities to the service of his family, and to works of benevolence.

"No human being is without peculiarities; and none more subject to those little deviations from common and established forms than men of letters; for the stronger the mental faculty, and the more assiduous its cultivation, the more frequently these singularities occur, and the more striking do they appear. From these little failings, which may recon-

cile inferior talents to the want of superior endowments, Mr. Stillingfleet was not exempt. By an excess of modesty, he used in his letters, and even in most of his publications, the small i for the first personal pronoun. This peculiarity, however, which he adopted after his return from abroad *, he relinquished, or used less frequently in the latter periods of his life; and it does not appear in his last work on the Theory of Music.

"He had a singular dislike to discover his age. Though of an affable and candid disposition, he was accustomed seldom to mention his engagements; and his friends often met him in social parties without the slightest previous intimation on his part, though they had seen him in the course of the day. He cherished a singular prejudice against the writings of Locke; partly, perhaps, derived from his Hutchesonian principles, and partly from the acrimonious controversy between that philosopher and his grandfather, the Bishop of Worcester.

"The habits, manners, and person of Mr. Stillingfleet at the later period of his life, I still recollect with peculiar pleasure and interest. He wore a full dress suit of cloth of the same uniform colour, with

* In his early letters, before this period, the small i does not occur; perhaps he adopted it, because the first personal pronoun in most other languages is not printed with a capital.

worsted stockings, usually *blue* *, and a small brass hilted sword peeping through the skirts of his coat. His wig was decorated with several rows of formal curls, as exhibited in his portrait. Those who knew him in early life, speak in the highest terms of the fascination of his society; and age did not rob him of this charm. His address was easy, polite, and captivating; his manner modest without bashfulness; his voice touching and melodious; his eye expressive, and his smile indicative of all the benignity of his mind. In conversation he was uncommonly pleasing and insinuating, catching the tone of the society, and trifling, even with children, with the same ease and pleasure as he conversed with persons of science and literature.

Almost the first and most lasting impression which I received of any person next to my parents, was that of Mr. Stillingfleet; and it is displaying, perhaps, not the least amiable part of his character, to

* From this singularity of dress, some have derived the epithet of *Blue Stocking Clubs*, now given to most literary meetings.

"Mr. Stillingfleet almost always wore *blue* worsted stockings, and whenever he was absent from Mrs. Montague's evening parties, as his conversation was very entertaining, the company used to say, "we can do nothing without the *blue stockings*," and by degrees the assemblies were called *Blue Stocking* Clubs, and learned bodies *Blue* Stockings."

Bisset's Life of Burke, 8vo. p. 83.

mention the satisfaction with which myself, my brothers and sisters, as well as others of our age, heard his name announced, and the delight with which we crowded about him, realising the beautiful picture drawn by Goldsmith:

"E'en children follow with endearing wile,
And pluck his gown to share the good man's smile."

This sentiment of love ripened into gratitude and veneration at a later period, when I call to remembrance the information which his conversation afforded, and the condescension and kindness which he employed to overcome the timidity of youth; the skill with which he drew forth my early acquirements, and the affectionate solicitude with which he directed and encouraged my literary pursuits.

CHAPTER XV.

Religious and Moral Principles of Mr. Stillingfleet—Fragments on Religious and Moral Subjects.

WE have the satisfaction to add the name of Mr. Stillingfleet to the list of those philosophers and men of letters who were also advocates for the truth of natural and revealed religion. In all his writings, he labours to establish the doctrine of a general and particular Providence, and the necessity of Revelation to remedy the weakness of human reason; and the writer of these pages frequently heard him give the strongest testimony to the same awful truths. Among his Memoranda are a few fragments, which are subjoined as illustrative of his moral and religious principles.

"It is," he says, "a just observation made by many able divines, that one of the internal proofs that the New Testament could not be the work of impostors, is its consistency and invariable confor-

mity to the true rules of goodness. With reason it is observed, that had several cheats united in drawing such a character as that of our Saviour, they would from time to time, in spite of the utmost caution, have suffered something to escape which would have unravelled the whole mystery of iniquity. The learned Prideaux has ably employed this principle to prove that Mahomet was an impostor, and that our Saviour could not be one." Shocked at the natural deformity of Vice, and smitten with the beauty of Virtue, as pourtrayed in the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of his favourite Plato, he readily embraced the pleasing theory of the celebrated Hutcheson, who called in the aid of Sentiment to render Morality attractive, and mixed religion with the beautiful visions of the antient moralists.

"Sober men, in all ages," he observes, "have been so much convinced of the benefits accruing from the strictest obedience to laws, that they laid greater stress on the execution than on the nature of them. The elder Brutus thought it necessary to punish his son with death, who had even served his country against orders. Whence it has happened that we so loosely obey the laws at present, is not perhaps so easy, nor is it my business to decide; but it is certain that the eternal disputes about Right and Obligation; words whose metaphysical sense will perhaps never be cleared up, but whose useful sense

may be, and is known, and felt by every one, will not remedy the evil.

"Is it likely that reason should assist us so wonderfully in settling the true criterion of morality, when it is acknowledged that these unintelligible words of Right and Obligation, as the speculative call them, must form the basis of all systems founded on reasoning? This is the source from whence flows the variety of sentiment in different ages; and that it may not vary and be even corrupted, I never designed to maintain. Beauty is its object, but in our present condition it must be chiefly comparative beauty. No wonder then, if we fall in love with the best image of her; or, if we even prefer the less perfect to that which is more perfect, when wrong associations of ideas, owing to prejudice, education, and authority, have grown into a habit. We see the same thing happen daily in relation to natural beauty, in painting, architecture, poetry, and the other arts. But the excellent treatise on the Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, by Mr. Hutcheson, has removed all objections against the existence and influence of this moral sentiment."

Yet, however warmly attached Mr. Stillingfleet was to the doctrine of Moral Sentiment, which, according to Hutcheson, is improved and strengthened by revelation, he was too zealous a Christian to be

seduced by the plausible theory of the elegant author of the Characteristics, who has endeavoured to exalt moral sentiment to the exclusion of the doctrines of Revelation. Hence, in acknowledging the merit of Shaftesbury, he makes this exception to so reprehensible a part of his system.

"Shaftesbury has been attacked, and with good reason, not so much for setting up the principle of moral beauty, as for endeavouring to destroy one of greater and more certain efficacy, that of future rewards and punishments. This doctrine is absolutely necessary to put us in a condition to rectify our innate sense of virtue when it is vitiated, as must often be the case in our present state."

On another celebrated, though equally reprehensible, principle of the same admired writer, that ridicule is the test of truth, he justly observes:

"I am by no means of Lord Shaftesbury's opinion, that nothing beautiful can be ridiculed. I think nothing more is necessary to prove it false than to observe that ridicule is merely relative. For instance, a man of no sentiment would cry out upon hearing Falstaff's discourse upon Honour, that the merry knight had finely ridiculed so romantic a passion. But what would a pupil of Lord Shaftesbury say? He would say the ridicule was not just; and consequently, that it did not fall upon the thing attempted to be ridiculed, but on the man that attempted it. The an-

swer would indeed be right; but this shews that ridicule is relative, and that what is so to one man, is not so to another. For to say, that what is beautiful cannot be made ridiculous in itself, is only saying that a straight line cannot be made crooked, while it remains straight, when the question should be, whether a straight line cannot be made to appear crooked through a certain medium.

"Our determinations about the justness of ridicule depend on our taste, our opinions, our education, our knowledge of things, of their uses, their excellencies, their ends; and, as these vary infinitely, our determinations must vary in the same proportion: I allow, that to a being who can look into the reality of things, and see them in their true point of light, nothing can be ridiculous which is good or beautiful. But to propagate such a notion among beings who scarcely behold the surfaces of objects, and which objects by artful men may be made to reflect any kind of light, according as they please to turn them, is of most dangerous consequence to society, and perhaps has much contributed to produce that thoughtless cavalier manner of treating every thing, however serious, which has once been made the subject of mirth."

The same conviction of the truths of Christianity, and the same warmth of feeling, rendered him averse to the cold scepticisms of metaphysical subtlety,

which had been recently employed by Bolingbroke, and other infidel writers, not merely in defending Deism, but even in reviving the crude notions of Atheism.

"I allow," he says, "that the knowledge of truth cannot do any harm; but the knowledge of half-truth may; and that, I imagine, must be the portion of the generality of men when abandoned to nothing but Reason. I condemn not men of distinguished parts who employ their leisure in launching into the intellectual world; for even when they ramble into its wildest parts, they find something useful; but I would not have them imitate some of our young travellers abroad, who, at their return home, communicate as freely the vices they have learnt as the improvements they have made. I would rather have them endeavour to instruct with authority, what they know with certainty, and keep the perplexities that puzzle human wit for the exercise of their own humility; or, at least, never extend them beyond a few well-meaning friends. There are fixed bounds to our clear perception, and the small threads of light we seem to catch beyond them is only

"Darkness visible,
That serves but to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes,
That comes to all." MILTON.

"Metaphysicians say, Reason knows no guide, submits to no fashion, never asks what others do or think; but calmly composes, separates, and confines her ideas, till she arrives at something certain, something founded on the eternal relations of things, neither subject to change nor caprice.

"That such a Reason exists I firmly believe: the constitution of this universe proves it beyond the possibility of a doubt. But that such a Reason resides in man, either in the individual, or in the collective body, I cannot allow. I own there are certain points wherein our reason seems not liable to any uncertainty, many of which concern not our duty; and others, which do, are of so general a nature as not to lead us far without error. Abstract Truth we reach naturally; nay, we are forced up to it; but it is too subtle for our gross organs to handle and work upon. Like our image in the water, contemplate her, she remains; offer to seize her, she is vanished! Our conversation with her is little better than a dream; or, if we meet with her when awake, it is as Ulysses did with the Idolon of Hercules, when the hero himself was really in the sky.

"I have a mortal aversion to those presumptuous reasoners, who talk of the counsels of the Almighty, as if admitted to all his secrets, and criticise his works as if sitting in judgment over a journeyman

bricklayer. If an ignorant man finds fault with a work of Raphael, he is universally ridiculed; and shall we, when the best of us are but as apes, as Plato says, in the eyes of the Supreme Being, take the liberty to blame what none but the great Author himself can possibly comprehend?"

* * * * * *

"I hate the rustic philosophy of Epicurus, as Plato justly calls it, that is maliciously prying into every amiable enthusiasm of mankind, that, not only is robbing us daily of the amusements of life, but is endeavouring to prove that our parentage is doubtful, if not certainly mean; that we are the children of chance or necessity; that we give ourselves airs of importance, and look upon eternity as our own, when it is sure that a few years will circumscribe our duration; and that when we talk of the interference of Providence in our affairs, we have no better reason for our persuasion than the fairies in Shakspeare, who fancy that the seasons are out of order because prince Oberon is displeased with his spouse. Should such rustic philosophy prevail, I should not wonder to see all that is great in arts and sciences fall to the ground. Pliny, I remember, laments the decay of painting in his time, and says, nothing was to be seen but the images of Epicurus. The same spirit which occasioned Epicurus to be

worshiped at Rome must necessarily cause the decay of painting. There is a coldness in that system which not only unfits men for the generous offices of society, by destroying all public spirit, but overturns the finer arts, by damping that amiable enthusiasm which is necessary to animate the imperfect efforts of Reason."

CHAPTER XVI.

Letters from Mrs. Montagu and Mr. Pennant on his Posthumous Papers; and on a proposed Account of his Literary Life.

MR. Stillingfleet's nephew and representative, Captain Locker, being absent in the West Indies at the time of his decease, the duty of fulfilling the injunction of his will, that his papers should be burned, devolved on his niece, Miss Locker. But before the execution of this order, she submitted them to the perusal of Mrs. Montagu, whose feeling reflections on this occasion we are happy to lay before the reader.

Mrs. Montagu to Miss Locker.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I CANNOT express how much I approve your religious respect to the injunctions of our dear and most excellent friend. I regret that he did not

correct every thing he wrote, for it is pity any thought of his should be lost. But, indeed, not one thought of his is lost; for all his thoughts are recorded in the book of life. He was desirous to serve mankind; but anxious to please only his GOD; his approbation he sought in every thing. I feel the loss of this invaluable friend more sensibly every day. I hope Mrs. Sabourn, and you, dear Madam, will allow me a share in your friendship, so nearly allied in virtues, as well as blood, to Mr. Stillingfleet. I look upon you, not as new, but old friends. My best respects attend Mrs. Sabourn. If you can both dine with me to-morrow it will give me great pleasure. I will most carefully fulfil the trust you have reposed in me, and burn the manuscripts in the presence of Mr. Torriano, when I have read them. Alas! it will be the last instruction I shall receive from the most instructive of companions, and best of friends.

Lady Frances Coningsbye is desirous to buy some of the books. Could you send me the catalogue for her to see?

"DEAR MADAM, Tunbridge-Wells, June 5, 1772.

"I RETURN many thanks for your obliging letter; and you may be assured I shall always think it an honour and happiness to be in any degree useful to Mrs. Sabourn and you, and any of the relations of my late most honoured, beloved, and excellent friend Mr. Stillingfleet. You kindly permitted me to read some of his manuscripts before they were destroyed, and I pursued the study of them with great eagerness; for though there is not any thing so finished as to be fit for the press, every thought of so wise and good a man is edifying. The intricacy of the writing had soon a bad effect on my eyes, so I put the manuscripts again into the boxes; and, for fear of any sudden accident happening to me, wrote on them, that in case of such an event, they should be delivered to Mr. Torriano. I consulted him before I came out of town, whether I should immediately destroy them; or, as I was hurried in preparing for my journey to Tunbridge, whether I might delay it till I returned from thence. I came only for six weeks; I have been here almost a fortnight; and, at my return to London, will, in the presence of Mr. Torriano and Mr. Hudson, burn all the papers, without the reserve of one line.

I was in hopes that I might, when my eyes were better, get a few hours leisure to read them; for indeed they are the picture of an almost angelic mind; and I could not but reflect, with great satisfaction, that such writings, though lost to the world, will increase his happiness in a more desirable one, where the pure and upright of heart shall be admitted into his presence at whose right hand all pleasures are for evermore. I thought it impossible for any thing to raise my admiration and respect of Mr. Stillingfleet higher than before; but indeed these breathings of his excellent heart on so many subjects have still heightened my reverence for him. As soon as I get back to town, I will burn the papers in the presence of Mr. Torriano and Mr. Hudson; in the mean time, they are perfectly safe. Indeed, it would not be in the power of any person to publish them, nothing being finished, and only detached pieces, and thoughts on a variety of subjects. Every line shews the religious temper of his mind, and the perfect integrity of his heart. I beg my respects to Mrs. Sabourn. I am truly sorry it has not been in my power to shew you the extent of the regard and affection with which I am, and always shall be, her and your most faithful humble Servant."

Many of Mr. Stillingfleet's friends were anxious that his works should be republished, with an account of his literary life. None was more zealous on this subject than the celebrated naturalist, Mr. Pennant, with whom he was intimately acquainted, and to whom he had furnished various interesting communications for the British Zoology, which was then preparing for the press. We add several of his letters on this subject to Commodore Locker, who was no less desirous to pay this tribute of gratitude and affection to the memory of his venerable uncle.

"Downing, March 22, 1771.

"I AM very much obliged to you for your favour of the 16th, and more particularly for the most acceptable prints of your worthy uncle, my ever respected friend. They could not have been bestowed on one who can value them more. I had heard of the picture, and once thought to have applied for a miniature copy. I wondered that a gentleman so distinguished as my old friend should remain without some memorial."

"Downing, Oct. 10, 1791.

"I APPLAUD your design of republishing your worthy uncle's works; and do believe it may be done with safety, and even with profit. His Essay

on Music is so scarce, that that should make part. The reduced print will certainly be acceptable. If Dodsley paid for the former copy, he has right to it in the moral, though not in the legal, sense. The affair may be talked over when I have the pleasure of seeing you. I shall be in town in February, when I shall not fail of informing you. I thankfully accept the offer of the drawings.

"Faulder never informed me of what you charged him with. If you approve the inclosed, you may desire my bookseller to have it inserted after paragraph 2, p. 136*; *under some great artist.*

"It is melancholy to recal the memory of departed friends; but here it was inevitable, when I thought on my amiable friend Benjamin Stillingfleet, esq. whose mortal part was deposited in this church. How many happy hours have I passed with him in the adjacent Piccadilly. I never quitted him without improvement. My gratitude prompted me to draw up in the preface to my fourth volume of the British Zoology, the following inadequate Eulogy of my lamented friend. Till a better is offered, let that serve as a monument and epitaph for such uncommon merit.

"Gratitude prompts me to mention a most irreparable loss in my amiable friend Benjamin Stillingfleet, esquire; in whom were joined the best heart, and the ablest head. Benevolence and innocence were

* Pennant's London, 3d Edit. p. 138.

his inseparable companions: Retirement his choice, from the most affectionate of motives, that of supporting a distressed sister. How great, yet how unnecessary was his diffidence in public! How ample his instruction in private! How clear his information! How delicate the conveyance! The pupil received advantages, edified by the humility of the master. Thoroughly imbued in Divine Philosophy, he had an uncommon insight into the uses of every object of Natural History; and gave sanction to those studies which by trivial observers were held most contemptible. The end of his labours was the good of mankind. He attempted to destroy the false shame that attended the devotee to Ornithology; the Chace of the Insect; the Search after the Cockle; or the poring over the Grass. He proved every object to be of the greatest service to the world, by the proper remarks that might be made upon them. The traveller, the sailor, the husbandman, might, if they pleased, draw the most useful conclusions from them. He pointed out in the philosophy of nature, the most unerring guide.

"Men who live in their works never want monuments. As none of his are posthumous, to me it is left to say, that he put on immortality December the 15th, 1771, at the age of 69; leaving a long train of friends selfishly lamenting his removal to a state of bliss."

" Downing, Jan. 9, 1792.

"ACCEPT the best wishes of the season, and at the same time my best thanks for the three prints of your respected uncle. If you have any inclination to have it copied in small, and him celebrated in a respectable magazine, I would recommend the *European*, in which numbers of illustrious people are well engraven, and their lives well given. My own (I rank it not among the most interesting) will be soon offered to the public with a print. Please only to let me know, and I will write to a gentleman who patronises the Magazine."

" Downing, Jan. 20, 1793.

"I HAVE received your obliging favour, and write sooner than perhaps I might have done, to say how much I rejoice that your worthy uncle's life is in such forwardness. I have the pleasure of being acquainted with Mr. Martyn, and am certain he will discharge the affair to his own and my deceased friend's credit. I only proposed the vehicle of the Magazine, fearing no one would be found to celebrate his just praises."

No one was better qualified to do justice to the character and labours of Mr. Stillingfleet than Professor Martyn, of whom Mr. Pennant speaks so handsomely in the preceding letter; and to whom

Captain Locker committed the care of raising a memorial to his uncle, by republishing his works, and giving some account of his life. The public have to regret, that his other avocations compelled him to relinquish the design, even after he had made some progress in collecting materials; and no one can feel greater concern on this occasion than the author of these pages, who, from an unexpected occurrence of circumstances has supplied his place. He feels his deficiencies in attempting to follow the steps and trace the labours of a Naturalist; but he presents this imperfect sketch to the reader with a full reliance on that indulgence which a liberal public has always bestowed on unintentional defects: he is only anxious that such defects may not obscure the merits and virtues of Mr. Stillingfleet.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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